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Biography

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ROMAN SECTION.

PART I.

CAIUS GRACCHUS TO TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

LANGHORNE TRANSLATION.

Text and Notes Complete and Revised, with Index.

ROMAN SECTION.

PART I.

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London:

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

ROMULUS.

FROM whom, and for what cause, the city of Rome obtained that glory has diffused itself over the world, historians agreed.¹ Some say the Pelasgi, after they overrun great part of the globe, and conquered many nations, settled there, gave their city the name of Rome,² on account of their strength in it. Others tell us, that when Troy was taken, some of the Trojans having escaped and gained their ships, put in, and being driven by the winds upon the coasts of Tuscany, came to an anchor in the river Tiber; here their wives being much fatigued, and no longer able to bear the hardships of the sea, some of them, superior to the rest in birth and prudence, named *Roma*, proposed that they should burn the fleet; that this being effected, the first much exasperated, but afterwards, through necessity, their seat on the Palatine Hill, and in a short time things succeeded beyond their expectation: for the country was good,³ and the people hospitable; that therefore, besides other honours paid to *Roma*, they named their city, as she the first of its being built, after her. Hence too, we are informed, the custom arose the women salute their relations and husbands with a kiss, because those women, when they had burned the ships, used such kind of endearments to appease the resentment of their husbands.

Among the various opinions of historians, it is said that *Roma* was the daughter of *Italus* and *Leucaria*; or else the daughter of *Telephus* the son of *Hercules*, and married to *Aeneas*; that *Roma* daughter of *Ascanius*, the son of *Aeneas*, and gave name to the city; or *Romanus*, the son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*, named it; or *Romus*, the son of *Amathion*, whom *Diomedes* carried from *Troy*; or *Romus*, King of the *Latins*, after he had expelled the *Tuscans*, passed originally from *Thessaly* into *Lydia*, and

¹ Such is the opinion of the origin of imperial Rome, and indeed of most cities and nations that are of any considerable antiquity. That of *Rome* might be the more uncertain, because its first inhabitants, being a collection of mean men, fugitives, and outlaws, from whom it could not be supposed to have sprung, would not be supposed to have been so. *Livy*, however, the most of the Latin historians, agree that *Rome* was built by *Romulus*, and both the name and people named after him; while the vanity of the Greek

writers is to ascribe almost everything, and *Rome* among the rest, to a Grecian original.

² *Popey*, *Rome*, signifies strength.

³ Whatever desirable things Nature has scattered sparingly in other countries were formerly found in Italy, as in their original seminary. There has been little improvement since, the cultivation of the soil is the same, the people are the same.

Lydia into Italy. Even they who, with the greatest probability, ■■■■ that ■■■■ city had ■■■■ name from Romulus, ■■■■ about his extraction; for ■■■■ say he ■■■■ ■■■■ and Dexithea, the daughter of Phorbus, and ■■■■ brought an infant into Italy with ■■■■ brother Remus; ■■■■ the other vessels ■■■■ lost by the violence of ■■■■ flood, except that in which the children were, which driving gently ashore where the bank ■■■■ level, they ■■■■ beyond expectation, ■■■■ the place from them ■■■■ called Rome. Some ■■■■ have it that Roma, daughter of that Trojan ■■■■ who ■■■■ married to Latinus, the ■■■■ of Telemachus, ■■■■ mother ■■■■ Romulus. Others ■■■■ that Emilia, the daughter of Aeneas and Lavinia, had him by Mars; and others again give ■■■■ of ■■■■ birth, which is entirely fabulous. There appeared, ■■■■ seems, ■■■■ Tarchetius, king of the Albans, who ■■■■ the ■■■■ and ■■■■ cruel of men, a supernatural vision in ■■■■ own house, ■■■■ figure of Priapus rising out of the chimney hearth, and staying ■■■■ many days. The goddess Tethys ■■■■ ■■■■ oracle in Tuscany,¹ which being consulted, gave this ■■■■ ■■■■ Tarchetius, That it ■■■■ necessary some virgin should accept of the embraces of the phantom, the fruit whereof would be a son, eminent for valour, good fortune, and strength of body. Hereupon Tarchetius acquainted one of his daughters with the prediction, and ordered her ■■■■ entertain the apparition: but she, declining it, sent her maid. When Tarchetius came to know it, he ■■■■ highly offended, and confined them both, intending to put them ■■■■ death. But Vesta appeared to him in a dream, and forbade him to kill them; but ordered that the young ■■■■ should ■■■■ a certain web in their fetters, and when that was done, be given in marriage. They weaved, therefore, in the daytime; but others, by Tarchetius's order, unravelled it in the night. The woman having twins by this commerce, Tarchetius delivered them ■■■■ one Teratius, with orders ■■■■ destroy them. But, instead ■■■■ that, ■■■■ exposed them by a river side, where a she-wolf ■■■■ and gave them suck, and various ■■■■ of birds brought food and ■■■■ the infants, till ■■■■ last ■■■■ herdsman, who beheld these wonderful things, ventured ■■■■ approach and take up the children. Thus secured from danger, they grew up, and then attacked Tarchetius, and ■■■■ him. This ■■■■ the account Promathion gives in his history of Italy.

But the principal parts of that account, which deserve ■■■■ credit, and have the most vouchers, were first published among ■■■■ Greeks by Diocles the Peparethian, whom Fabius Pictor commonly follows; and though there are different relations of the matter, yet ■■■■ dispatch ■■■■ in a few words, the story is this: The kings of Alba

¹ There was no oracle of Tethys, but of Themis ■■■■ was Themis ■■■■ the name ■■■■ Carmenta, ■■■■ ■■■■ Evander, ■■■■ last name ■■■■ had, because she delivered her oracles, in carments, ■■■■

² From Alba down to Numitor and Amulius, there were 13 kings of the same race, but we scarce know anything of

them except their names, and the years ■■■■ their respective reigns. Amulius, ■■■■ ■■■■ them, who surpassed his brother in courage and understanding, drove him from the ■■■■, and ■■■■ ■■■■ for himself, ■■■■ Augustus, Numitor's only son, and consecrated his daughter Rhea Sylvia, to the worship of Vesta

descending lineally ■■■ Aeneas, the succession ■ ■ ■ brothers, Numitor and Amulius. The latter divided the whole inheritance into two parts, setting the treasures brought from Troy against the kingdom; and Numitor made choice of the kingdom. Amulius then having the treasures, and consequently being more powerful than Numitor, easily possessed himself of the kingdom too; and fearing the daughter of Numitor might have children, he appointed her priestess of Vesta, in which capacity she ■■■ always ■ live unmarried, and ■ virgin. Some say her ■■■ was Ilia, ■■■ Rheia, and others Sylvia. But she ■■■ soon discovered ■ be with child, contrary to the law of the vestals. Antho, the king's daughter, by much entreaty, prevailed with her father that she should not be capitally punished. She ■■■ confined, however, and excluded from society, lest she should be delivered without Amulius's knowledge. When her time ■■■ completed, she ■■■ delivered ■ ■■ sons ■ uncommon size and beauty: whereupon Amulius, ■■■ more alarmed, ordered ■■■ of his ■■■ to destroy them. Some say ■■■ name of this ■■■ was Faustulus: others that that ■■■ the name of ■ person that took them up. Pursuant ■ his orders, he put the children into a small trough or cradle, and ■■■ down towards the river, with a design ■ cast them in; but seeing it very rough, and running with a strong current, he ■■■ afraid to approach it. He therefore laid them down near the bank, and departed. The flood increasing continually, set the trough afloat, and carried it gently down to ■ pleasant place now called Cermanum, denoting that the brothers arrived there.

Near this place ■■■ a wild fig-tree, which they called Ruminallis, either ■ account of Romulus, as is generally supposed, or because the cattle there ruminated, or chewed the cud, during the noontide, in the shade; ■ rather because of the suckling of the children there; for the ancient Latins called ■■■ breast *ruma*, and the goddess who presides over the nursery Rumilia, ■ Rumina, whose rites they celebrate without wine, and only with libations of milk. The infants, as the story goes, lying there, ■■■ suckled by a she-wolf, and fed and taken care of by a woodpecker. These animals are ■■■d to Mars; and the woodpecker is held in great honour and veneration by the Latins. Such wonderful ■■■ contributed not a little to gain credit to the mother's report, that she had ■ children by Mars; though in this they tell ■ ■■■ herself deceived, having suffered violence from Amulius, who ■■■ her, and lay with her in ■■■. Some say, the ambiguity of ■ nurse's name gave occasion ■ the fable; for the Latins call not only she wolves but prostitutes *lupa*; and such ■ Acca Larentia, the ■ of Faustulus, the foster-father of the children. To her ■■■ Romans ■ sacrifice, and the pr■■ of Mars honours her with oblations in ■■■ month of April when they celebrate ■■■ Larentalia.

They worship also another Larentia on the following account. ■■■ keeper of the temple of Hercules, having, ■ ■■■ ■■■ to do, proposed ■ play a game at dice with the god, ■ ■■■

that, if he won, he should have something valuable of that deity ; but ■■■ lost, ■■■ should provide a noble entertainment ■■■ him, and a beautiful ■■■ lie with him. Then throwing the dice, ■■■ the god, and ■■■ for himself, it appeared that he ■■■ lost. Willing, however, ■■■ stand ■■■ bargain, and ■■■ perform ■■■ conditions agreed upon, he prepared ■■■ supper, and engaged ■■■ purpose ■■■ Larentia, who ■■■ very handsome, but as yet little known, ■■■ treated her in the temple, ■■■ he had provided ■■■ ; and after supper, left her for the enjoyment of the god. It is said that the deity ■■■ conversation with her, ■■■ ordered her to ■■■ early ■■■ the morning to the market-place, salute the first man she should meet, and make him her friend. The first man she met was one far advanced in years, ■■■ opulent circumstances, Tarrutius by name, who ■■■ no children, ■■■ had been married. This man took Larentia ■■■ his bed, and loved her so well, ■■■ his ■■■ he ■■■ her ■■■ to ■■■ whole estate, which ■■■ very considerable ; and she afterwards bequeathed the greatest part of ■■■ by ■■■ the people. It ■■■ said, that at the time when she was in high reputation, and considered ■■■ the favourite of a god, she suddenly disappeared about the place where the former Larentia was laid. It is now called Velabrum, because the ■■■ often overflowing, they passed it at this place, in ferry-boats, to ■■■ to the Forum. This kind of passage they call *velatura*. Others derive the name from *velum*, a sail, because they who have the exhibiting of the public shows, beginning at Velabrum, overshadow ■■■ the way that ■■■ from ■■■ Forum ■■■ the Hippodrome with canvas, for ■■■ sail in Latin is *velum*. On these accounts is the second Larentia so much honoured among the Romans.

In the mean time, Faustulus, Amulius's herdsman, brought up the children entirely undiscovered ; or rather, ■■■ others with greater probability assert, Numitor knew it from the first,¹ and privately supplied the necessaries for their maintenance. It is also said that they ■■■ sent to Gabii, and there instructed in letters, and other branches ■■■ education suitable to their birth : and history informs ■■■ they ■■■ the ■■■ ■■■ and Remus, from the teat of ■■■ wild animal which they ■■■ seen to suck. The beauty and dignity of their persons, even in their childhood, promised a generous disposition ; and ■■■ they grew up, they both discovered great courage and bravery, with an inclination ■■■ hazardous attempts, and a spirit which nothing could subdue. But Romulus seemed ■■■ to cultivate the powers of reason, and to excel in political knowledge ; whilst, by his deportment among his neighbours in the employments ■■■ pasturage and hunting, he convinced them that ■■■ born to command rather ■■■ obey. To their equals and inferiors they

¹ Numitor might build upon the hopes of ■■■ re-establishment ; ■■■ his knowing the place where the children were brought up, and supplying ■■■

with necessities, is quite inconsistent with the manner of their discovery ■■■ which is the most ■■■ story.

behaved very courteously; ■■■ they despised the king's ■■■ chief herdsmen, ■■■ superior ■■■ themselves ■■■ courage, though they ■■■ authority, disregarding ■■■ their threats ■■■ anger. They applied themselves ■■■ generous exercises ■■■ pursuits, looking upon idleness and inactivity as illiberal things, but on hunting, running, banishing or apprehending robbers, and delivering such ■■■ oppressed by violence, as ■■■ employment of honour ■■■ virtue. By these things they gained great ■■■

A dispute arising between the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius, and ■■■ former having driven away some cattle belonging ■■■ the latter, Romulus and Remus fell upon them, put them ■■■ flight, and recovered the greatest part of the booty. At this conduct Numitor ■■■ highly offended; but they little regarded his resentment. The first steps they took ■■■ this occasion were to collect, and receive ■■■ their company, persons of desperate fortunes, and ■■■ great number of slaves; ■■■ which gave alarming proofs of their bold and seditious inclinations. It happened that while Romulus ■■■ employed in sacrificing (for to that and divination he ■■■ much inclined), Numitor's herdsmen met with Remus, ■■■ he ■■■ walking with a small retinue, and fell upon him. After ■■■ blows were exchanged, and wounds given and received, Numitor's people prevailed and took Remus prisoner. He was carried before Numitor, and had several things laid to his charge, but Numitor did not choose ■■■ punish him himself, for fear of his brother's ■■■ To him, therefore, he applied for justice, which he had all the reason in the world ■■■ expect; since, though brother to the reigning prince, he had been injured by his servants, who presumed upon his authority. The people of Alba, moreover, expressing their uneasiness, and thinking that Numitor suffered great indignities, Amulius, moved with their complaints, delivered Remus to him to be treated as he should think proper. When the youth ■■■ conducted ■■■ his house, Numitor ■■■ greatly struck with his appearance, ■■■ he ■■■ very remarkable for size and strength; he observed, too, his presence of mind, and the steadiness of his looks, which had nothing servile in them, ■■■ altered with the ■■■ of ■■■ present danger; and he ■■■ informed that his actions and whole behaviour ■■■ suitable to what ■■■ ■■■ above all, ■■■ divine influence, ■■■ it seems, directing the beginnings of the great ■■■ that ■■■ follow, Numitor, by his sagacity, ■■■ by a fortunate conjecture, suspecting the truth, questioned him ■■■ concerning ■■■ of ■■■ birth; speaking mildly at the same time, and regarding him with a gracious eye. He boldly answered, "I will hide nothing from you; ■■■ you ■■■ a more princely ■■■ than Amulius, since you hear and examine ■■■ you punish; but he has delivered ■■■ ■■■ inquiring into ■■■ I have a twin-brother, and heretofore ■■■ believed ourselves the ■■■ of Faustulus and Larentia, servants to the king. ■■■ since we ■■■ accused ■■■ you, and so pursued by slander as to be in danger of our lives, we near nobler things concerning our

birth. They are true, the present crisis will show.¹ Our birth is to have been secret: we support in infancy miraculous. We were exposed to birds and wild beasts, by a she-wolf, and fed by the attentions of a woodpecker as we lay in a trough by the great river. The trough is preserved, bound about with brass bands, and inscribed with letters partly faded; which may prove, perhaps, hereafter very useless tokens to our parents, when we are destroyed." Numitor hearing this, and comparing the time with the young man's looks, was confirmed in the pleasing hope he had conceived, and considered how he might consult his daughter about her affair; for she was still kept in close custody.

Meanwhile Faustulus, having heard that Remus was taken and delivered up to punishment, desired Romulus to assist his brother, informing him then clearly of the particulars of his birth; for before he had only given dark hints about it, and signified just as much as might take off the attention of his wards from every thing that was going on. He himself took the trough, and in all the tumult of concern and fear carried it to Numitor. His disorder raised some suspicion in the king's guards at the gate, and that disorder increasing while they looked earnestly upon him, and perplexed him with their questions, he was discovered to have a trough under his cloak. There happened to be among them one of those who had had it in charge to throw the children into the river, and who was concerned in the exposing of them. This man, seeing the trough, and knowing it by its make and inscription, rightly guessed the business; and thinking it an affair not to be neglected, immediately acquainted the king with it, and put him upon inquiring into it. In these great and pressing difficulties, Faustulus did not preserve entirely his presence of mind, nor yet fully discovered the matter. He acknowledged that the children were saved, indeed, but said that they kept cattle at a great distance from Alba; and that he was carrying the trough to Ilia, who had often desired to have it, that she might entertain the better hopes that her children were alive. Whatever persons perplexed and actuated with fear or anger use to suffer, Amulius then suffered; for in his hurry he was an honest man, a friend of Numitor's, to inquire of him whether he had any children that the children were alive. When the king came, and saw Remus almost in the embraces of Numitor, he endeavoured to confirm him in the persuasion that the youth was really his grandson; begging him at the same time, immediately to take the best measures that could be thought of, and offering his best assistance to support their party. The occasion admitted of no delay, they had been inclined to it; for Romulus was now at hand, and a good number of the young men gathered about him, either from hatred or fear of Amulius. He brought also a considerable

¹ For if they were true, the god who nurtured them in their

infancy, would prevent danger.

with him, divided into companies of 100 men each, ■■■■■ by an officer who bore a handful of grass and shrubs upon a pole.

■■■■■ Latins called *Manipuli*; and hence it ■ that, ■ day, ■■■■■ of ■■■■■ company ■■■■■ called *Manipulares*. Remus, then, having gained those within, and ■■■■■ ■■■■■ the palace without, the tyrant knew not what ■ do, ■ whom he should consult, but amidst his doubts and perplexity ■■■■■ taken and slain. These particulars, though mostly related by Fabius ■■■■■ the Peparethian, who ■■■■■ have been ■■■■■ about the founding of Rome, ■■■■■ yet suspected by some ■■■■■ and groundless. Perhaps, however, we should ■■■■■ so incredulous, when ■■■■■ what extraordinary ■■■■■ Fortune produces; nor, when ■■■■■ consider what height of greatness ■■■■■ to, ■■■■■ think ■■■■■ could ■■■■■ have been effected without ■■■■■ supernatural assistance ■■■■■ first, and an origin more than human.

Amulius being dead, and the troubles composed, the ■■■■■ brothers ■■■■■ not willing ■■■■■ live in Alba, without governing there; nor yet to take the government upon them during their grandfather's ■■■■■. Having, therefore, invested him with it, and paid due honours ■■■■■ their mother, they determined ■■■■■ dwell in ■■■■■ city of their own, and, for that purpose, ■■■■■ build one ■■■■■ place where they had their first nourishment. This seems, at least, to be the ■■■■■ plausible reason of their quitting Alba; ■■■■■ perhaps, too, it ■■■■■ necessary, as a great number of slaves and fugitives was collected about them, either to see their ■■■■■ entirely ruined, if these should disperse, ■■■■■ with them ■■■■■ seek another habitation; for that the people of Alba refused to permit the fugitives ■■■■■ mix with them, ■■■■■ to receive them ■■■■■ citizens, sufficiently appears from the rape of the women, which was not undertaken out of ■■■■■ licentious humour, but deliberately, ■■■■■ and through necessity, from the ■■■■■ of wives; since, after they seized them, they treated them very honourably.

As soon ■■■■■ the foundation of the city ■■■■■ laid, they opened ■■■■■ place of refuge for fugitives, which they called the Temple ■■■■■ the *Asylean God*.¹ Here they received ■■■■■ that came, and would neither deliver up the slave ■■■■■ his master, the debtor to his creditor, ■■■■■ murderer ■■■■■ the magistrate; declaring that they were directed by the oracle of Apollo ■■■■■ preserve the asylum from all violation. Thus the city ■■■■■ soon peopled;² for it ■■■■■ said, that the houses at first ■■■■■ exceed a thousand.

While they ■■■■■ intent upon building, ■■■■■ dispute ■■■■■ ■■■■■ pl ■■■■■ Romulus having built ■■■■■ square, which ■■■■■ called Rome, would have the city there; but Remus marked out ■■■■■ more secure situation ■■■■■ Mount Aventine, which, from him, ■■■■■ called

¹ It is not certain who this God of Refuge was. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that, in his time, the place where the asylum had been was consecrated to Jupiter. Romulus did not at first receive the fugitives and outlaws within the walls, but allowed them the hill *Saturnus*, after-

wards called *Capitolinus*, for their habitation.

² Most of the Trojans, of whom there still remained fifty families in Augustus' time, ■■■■■ of ■■■■■ did also the ■■■■■ *Palan* ■■■■■ and *Saturnia*, ■■■■■ small towns.

Remonium,¹ but now the name of Rignarium. dispute was referred to the decision of augury; and for this purpose they sat down in the open air, when Remus, as they tell us, saw six vultures, Romulus twice as many. Some say Remus's account of the number had seen was true, and that of Romulus not so; but Remus up to him, he did really twelve. the Romans, in their divination by the flight of birds, chiefly regard the vulture; though Herodotus of P relates that Hercules rejoice when a vulture appeared to him as going upon any great action. This was, probably, the least mischievous of any, pernicious neither corn, plants, cattle. It only feeds upon dead carcases; but neither nor preys upon anything that has life. As birds, it does not touch them even when dead, because they are of nature; while eagles, owls, and hawks kill their own kind; and, as Æschylus has it,

clean, that

Besides, other birds frequently seen, and may be found any time; but a vulture is uncommon sight, and we have seldom met with any of their young; so that the rarity of them has occasioned an absurd opinion in some, they to us from other countries; and soothsayers judge every unusual appearance to be preternatural, and the effect of a power.

When Remus knew that he was imposed upon, he was highly incensed, and Romulus was opening ditch round the place where the walls were to be built, he ridiculed some parts of the work, and obstructed others. At last, he presumed to leap over it, some say he fell by the of Romulus;² other by that of Celer, one of his companions. Faustus also fell in the scuffle; Pilius, who, being brother to Faustus, have assisted in bringing Romulus up. Celer into Tuscany; and from him such as swift of foot, or expeditious in business, by the Romans called *celeris*. Thus, when Quintus Metellus, within a few days after his father's death, provided a show of gladiators, the people admiring quick dispatch, him name of Celer.

¹ We find no mention either of Remonum or Rignarium in any other writer. An anonymous MS. reads Remonum; and Westall tells us (De Ling. Lat. lib. II.) the summit of Mount Aventine was called Remuria, from the time Remus resolved to build the city. Dionysius of speaks of Mount Aventine and Remuria as two different places; and Stephanus will Remonum to have been a city in the neighbourhood of Rome.

² The two brothers first differed about the place where their new city was to be built, and referring the matter to their grandfather, he advised them to leave it

by augury. In this augury imposed upon Remus; and when the former prevailed that the city be built upon Mount Palatine, the builders, being divided into two companies, were no better than two factions. At last, Remus, in contempt, leaped over the wall, and said, "Just as will the enemy leap over it!" whereupon Celer gave him a deadly blow, and answered, "In this manner will our citizens repulse the enemy." Some say, that Romulus was so afflicted at the death of his brother, that he would have laid violent hands upon himself, if he had not been

Romulus buried his brother Remus, together with his fathers, in Remonia, and then the city, having been founded by the *Hetruria*,¹ who, (as is usual in sacred mysteries) according to the ceremonies and written rules, were to order and direct how every thing was to be done. First, a circular ditch was dug about what is now called the Comitium, or Hall of Justice, and the ditch of every thing that is reckoned either good by use, or necessary by nature, was thrown into it; and then each bringing a small quantity of earth of the country from whence he came, threw it in promiscuously.² This ditch was called *Mundus*, with that of the universe. In this place, they drew a circle round this centre; and the founder, having fitted to a plough a brazen ploughshare, and yoked a bull and cow, himself drew a deep furrow round the boundaries. The business of this was that followed was to turn all the clods raised by the plough inwards to the city, and not to suffer any to remain outwards. This line was called the compass of the city; and between it and the wall was called, by contraction, *Pomerium*, lying behind or beyond the wall. Where they designed to have a gate, they took the ploughshare out of the ground, and lifted up the plough, making a break for it. Hence they look upon the whole wall as sacred, except the gateways. If they considered the gate in the same light as the rest, it would be deemed unlawful either to receive the necessities of life by them, or to carry through it what is unclean.

The day on which they began to build the city is *universally allowed to be the twenty-first of April*, and is celebrated annually by the Romans as the birth-day of Rome. At first, we are told, they sacrificed nothing that had life, persuaded that they ought to keep the solemnity sacred to the birth of their country pure, and without bloodshed. Nevertheless, before the city was built, on that same day, they had kept a pastoral feast called *Palilia*.³ At present, indeed, there is very little analogy between the Roman and the Grecian months; yet the day on which Romulus founded the city is strongly affirmed to be the thirteenth of the month. On that day, too, we are informed, there was a conjunction of the sun

¹ The *Hetrurians*, or *Tuscans*, had, as *Varro* informs us, a sort of ritual, where were contained the ceremonies that were to be observed in building cities, temples, altars, walls, and gates. They were forbidden in luxury and rejoicing by *Tages*, who is said to have been taught by *Mercury*.

² *Ovid* says, say it was a handful of the earth each had brought out of his own country, but of this he had taken from his neighbour; which was done to signify that Rome would soon subdue the neighbouring *Latins* (*lib. xx., cap. ii.*) is of opinion, that by throwing the first fruits and a handful of earth into the trench, they

admonish the heads of the colonies that it ought to be their study to provide for their fellow-citizens all the conveniences of life, to maintain peace and union amongst a people come together from different parts of the world, and by this to bind them into a body never to be divided.

³ The festival or feast of *Pales*, is sometimes called *Palilia*, because *Latin* *parere*, to bring forth, because prizes were then made for the fruitfulness of the sheep. According to *Ovid* (*Fast. lib. iv.*), the shepherds then made a great feast at *Palilia*, and concluded the whole with dancing over the fires they had made in the fields with heaps of straw.

and moon, attended with an eclipse, the same that was observed by Antimachus, the Teian poet, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad.

Varro the philosopher, who of the Romans most skilled in history, his acquaintance named Tarutius, who, his knowledge in philosophy and the mathematics, to indulge his speculative turn, had applied himself to astrology, thought to a perfect of it. To him Varro proposed out day and hour of Romulus' birth, making calculation from the known of his life, problems in geometry solved by analytic method, for it belongs to the science, when man's nativity given, to predict his life, and when his is given, his nativity. Tarutius complied with request, and when he had considered the disposition and of Romulus, how long he lived, and in what he died, put these things together, he affirmed, without doubt hesitation, that his conception was the year of the second Olympiad, on twenty-third day of the month which the Egyptians call Choeac [Dec], at the third hour, when the sun was totally eclipsed,¹ his birth on the twenty-third day of the month Thoth [Sept] about sunrise, and that he founded Rome on the ninth of the month Pharmuthi [April], between the second and third hour,² for it supposed that the fortunes of cities, well men, have their proper periods determined by the position of the the of their nativity. These, and the like relations, may, perhaps, rather please the reader, because they curious, than disgust him, because they fabulous.

When the city was built, Romulus divided the younger part of the inhabitants into battalions. Each corps consisted of 3000 foot, and 300 horse,³ and was called a legion, because the warlike persons were selected. The rest of the multitude he called The People. A hundred of the most considerable citizens he took for his council, with the title of Patricians,⁴ and the whole body

¹ There was no total eclipse of the sun in the first year of the second Olympiad, but in the second year of that Olympiad there was. If Romulus was conceived in the year last named it will agree with the common opinion that he was eighteen years old when he founded Rome and that Rome was founded in the first year of the seventh Olympiad.

² There is great disagreement among historians and chronologists as to the year of the foundation of Rome. Varro places it in the third year of the sixth Olympiad 763 years B.C., and Labrus Pictor, who is the most ancient of all the Roman writers, and followed by the learned Usher places it at the end of the seventh Olympiad which according to that prelate was in the year of the world 748. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Solinus, and Lactantius place it in the first year of the seventh Olympiad.

³ Instead of three Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us (lib. ii. p. 76) the colony consisted of 3000 men. Romulus divided into three equal which he called tribes or thirds, each of which was to be commanded by its prefect or tribune. The tribes are divided into ten curiae and these subdivided into百人. The number of houses, or families, which was but 1000 bear witness to the truth of Dionysius's assertion. But it is probable the more rabble, who took the protection of the asylum, and who might be very numerous, were not reckoned among the 3000 first colonists though they were afterwards admitted to the privilege of citizens.

⁴ The choice of these 100 persons was not made by the king himself, each tribe chose three senators and each of the thirty curiae the like number, which made in all the number of ninety nine, so that Romulus named only the hundredth, who

the ■■■■■, ■■■■■ signifies ■■■■■ *Assembly of Old* ■■■■■ members ■■■■■ styled Patricians; because, ■■■■■ say, they ■■■■■ fathers of ■■■■■ children; or rather, according ■■■■■ others, ■■■■■ they themselves had fathers to show, which ■■■■■ not the case ■■■■■ many of the rabble that ■■■■■ to the city. ■■■■■ derive ■■■■■ title from *Patracinium*, ■■■■■ Patronage, attributing the origin ■■■■■ term ■■■■■ Patron, who came over with Evander, and ■■■■■ remark- ■■■■■ for his humanity and care of the distressed. But ■■■■■ shall be ■■■■■ the truth if ■■■■■ conclude that Romulus styled them Patricians, ■■■■■ expecting these respectable persons would watch over those in humble stations with ■■■■■ paternal ■■■■■ and regard; and teaching the commonalty in their turn ■■■■■ fear or envy the power of their superiors, but to behave ■■■■■ them with love and respect, both looking upon them ■■■■■ fathers, and honouring them with that ■■■■■ For at this ■■■■■ time foreign nations call the Senators Lords, but ■■■■■ Romans themselves call them Conscript Fathers, ■■■■■ style of greater dignity and honour, and withal much less invidious. At first, indeed, they ■■■■■ called Fathers only; but afterwards, when more ■■■■■ enrolled in their body, Conscript Fathers. With this ■■■■■ able title, then, he distinguished the senate from the people. He likewise made another distinction between the nobility and the commons, calling the former Patrons,¹ and the other Clients; which was the source of mutual kindness and many good offices between them. For the Patrons ■■■■■ to those they had taken under their protection counsellors and advocates in their ■■■■■ law, and advisers and assistants on all occasions. On the other hand, the Clients falled not in their attentions, whether they ■■■■■ be shown in deference and respect, or in providing their daughters portions, ■■■■■ in satisfying their creditors, if their circumstances happened ■■■■■ be narrow. No law or magistrate obliged the Patron ■■■■■ be evidence against his Client, or the Client against his Patron. But in after-times, though the other claims continued in full force, it ■■■■■ looked upon as ungenerous for persons of condition to take money of those below them.

In the fourth month after ■■■■■ building of the city,² as Fabius informs us, the rape of the Sabine ■■■■■ put ■■■■■ execution. Some say, Romulus himself, who ■■■■■ naturally warlike and persuaded by certain oracles that the Fates had decreed Rome ■■■■■ obtain her greatness by military achievements, began hostilities against ■■■■■ Sabines, and seized only thirty virgins, being more

was the head, or prince of the senate, and the chief governor of the city, when the king was in the field.

1 This patronage was an ■■■■■ as any consanguinity or alliance, and had a ■■■■■ will direct ■■■■■ containing ■■■■■ among the ■■■■■ for ■■■■■ space of 600 years, during ■■■■■ time ■■■■■ And ■■■■■ between the patrons and their clients, even in the time of the ■■■■■, when the ■■■■■ against ■■■■■ who

were most powerful in ■■■■■ city. At last ■■■■■ great sedition raised ■■■■■ Caius Gracchus broke in upon that harmony. Indeed, a client who was wanting in ■■■■■ duty ■■■■■ his patron, ■■■■■ a traitor and an outlaw, and liable to be put to death by any person whatever. It ■■■■■ proper to observe, that not only ■■■■■ chose their patrons, ■■■■■ time ■■■■■ states put themselves under the like protection.

2 Gellius says it was in the fourth year

desirous of war than of wives for his people. But this was not likely. For, as his city soon filled with inhabitants, very few of whom were married; the greatest part consisted of a mixed rabble of obscure persons, to whom no regard was paid, and who were expecting to settle in any place whatever, the enterprise naturally took that turn; and he hoped that this attempt, though not a just one, an alliance and union with the Sabines would be obtained, when it appeared that they treated the Romans kindly. In order to this, he first went out and had found the altar of some god, which had been covered with earth. This deity they called Consus, meaning either the God of Counsel, (for with them the word *consilium* has that signification, and their chief magistrates afterwards were Consuls, persons who were to consult the public good,) or else the Equestrian Neptune; for the altar in the Circus Maximus¹ is visible at other times, but during the Circensian games it is uncovered. Some say it was proper that the altar of that god should be under ground, because counsel should be private and secret as possible. Upon this discovery, Romulus, by proclamation, appointed a day for a splendid sacrifice, with public games and shows. Multitudes assembled at the time, and he himself presided, sitting among his nobles, clothed in purple. As a signal for assault, he rose, gather up his robe, and fold it about him. Many of the people wore swords that day, and kept their eyes upon him, watching for the signal, which was no other given than they drew them, and rushing on with a shout, seized the daughters of the Sabines, but quietly suffered the men to escape. Some say only 30 were carried off, who each gave a tribe; but Valerius Antias makes their number 537; and according to Juba,² there were 683, all virgins. This was the best apology for Romulus; for they had taken but one married woman, named Hersilia, who afterwards chiefly concerned in reconciling them; and her they took by mistake, as they were incited to this violence by lust and injustice, but by their desire to conciliate and unite the two nations in the strongest ties. Some tell that Hersilia married Hostilius, one of the most eminent of the Romans; others, that Romulus himself married her, and had children by her; a daughter named Prima, on account of her being first born, and an only son, whom he called Aulius, because of the great number of people to him, but after Abilius. This is contradicted in it by many other historians.

Among those that committed the rape, we are told, of the most beautiful happened to be carrying off a virgin of uncommon beauty and stature; and when some of superior rank that they

¹ That is, to say, in the place where Romulus afterwards built the great circus for horse and chariot races.

² This was the son of Juba, king of Mauritania, who, being taken, was very

young a captive to Rome, was instructed in the Roman and Grecian literature, and became an excellent historian. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has followed his account.

attempted take her from them, they cried they were conducting her to Talasius, a young man of excellent character. When they heard this, they applauded their design, and went back accompanied them with the utmost satisfaction, all way exclaiming Talasius. Hence became in the nuptial of the Romans, as Hymeneus in those of Greeks; Talasius to have been very happy in marriage. But Sylla, the Carthaginian, a man beloved both by the Graces, me that this was the word which Romulus gave signal for the rape. All of them, therefore, as they carrying off the virgins, cried out Talasius; and thence it still continues marriages. Most writers, however, and Juba, in particular, are of opinion that it is only an incitement to good housewifery spinning, which the word *Talasius* signifies; Italian being that time thus mixed with Greek.¹ If this be right, then the word *Talasius* in the same sense Greeks, another and probable reason of the may be assigned. For when Sabines, after the with the Romans, reconciled, conditions were obtained for the women, that they should not be obliged by their husbands to do any other work besides spinning. It was customary, therefore, ever after, that they who gave the bride, or conducted her home, or were present on the occasion, should cry out, amidst the mirth of the wedding, *Talasius*; intimating that not to be employed in any other labour but that of spinning. And it is a custom still observed, for to go over the threshold of her husband's house herself, but carried over, because the Sabine virgins did not go in voluntarily, but were carried in by violence. add, that the bride's hair is parted with the point of a spear, in memory of the first marriages being brought in a warlike This rape com-

¹ The original is manifestly corrupted; and all the former translations, following corrupt reading, assert what is utterly false, namely, "that no Greek terms were then mixed with the language of Italy." The contrary appears from Plutarch's Life of Numa, where Greek terms are mentioned as frequently used by the Romans. But not to have recourse to facts, let us inquire into the several former translations. The Latin runs thus: *Pietasque (inter quos est Juba) authoritatem et institutionem ad laboris utilitatem et sanctitatem, quod Græci Talasium dicunt, censent novum sed temporis Italice verbis cum Græcis confusum.* The English thus: "But most are of opinion, and Juba, in particular, that this word *Talasius* was used to new married women, by way of incitement to good housewifery; for the Greek word *Talasius* signifies spinning, and the language of Italy was not yet mixed with the Greek." The French of Dacier thus: "Cependant la plupart des auteurs croient, et Juba

est même de cette opinion, que ce mot n'étoit qu'une exhortation qu'on faisoit aux mariées d'aimer le travail, qui consistoit à filer de la laine, que les Grecs appelloient *Talasius*; car on se tamela la langue Grecque n'avoit pas encore été corrompue par les mots Latins." Thus they declare with one consent that the language of Italy was not yet mixed with the Greek; though it appears from what was said immediately before that *Talasius*, a Greek term, was made use of in that language. If this wanted any further support, we might allege a passage from Plutarch's Marcellus, which, as well as that in the Life of Numa, is express and decisive. Speaking there of the dedication of the word *Feretrius*, an appellation which Jupiter probably first had in the time of Romulus, on occasion of his consecrating to him the spot *opinio*; one account he gives of the matter is that at that time the Greek language was much mixed with the Latin.

on the eighteenth day of the month Sextilis [Aug.], the feast of the Consualia kept.

The Sabines a numerous and warlike people, but they dwelt in unwall'd towns, thinking became them, who a colony of the Lacedæmonians, to bold and fearless. But they themselves bound by such pledges, very solicitous for their daughters, they sent ambassadors with moderate and equitable demands: That he the young women, and disavow the violence, and the nations should proceed to establish a correspondence, contract alliances a friendly and legal way. Romulus, however, refused part with the young women, and entreated Sabines give their sanction what had been done, whereupon of them lost time in consulting and making preparations. But Acron, king of Ceninensians, a man of spirit, and an able general, suspected tendency of Romulus's first enterprises; and, when he had behaved boldly in the rape, looked him that would grow formidable, and indeed insufferable his neighbours, except he chastised. Acron, therefore, to seek the enemy, and Romulus prepared to receive him. When they came in sight, and had well viewed each other, a challenge for single combat mutually given, their forces standing under arms in silence. Romulus this occasion made a vow, that if he conquered his enemy, he would dedicate his adversary's to Jupiter; in consequence of which both overcame Acron, and, after battle was joined, routed his army and took city. But he did no injury to its inhabitants, unless it were such to order them to demolish their houses, and follow him to Rome, as citizens entitled to equal privileges with the rest. *Indeed, there was nothing that contributed more to the greatness of Rome, than that she always uniting and incorporating with herself those whom she conquered. Romulus having considered how he should perform his the most acceptable to Jupiter, and withal make the procession most agreeable to his people, cut down a great oak that grew in the camp, and hewed it into figure of a trophy; to he fastened Acron's whole suit of armour, disposed in its proper form. Then he put on his own robes, and wearing a of laurel head, his hair gracefully flowing, he took the trophy erect upon his right shoulder, and so marched on, singing song of victory before his troops, which followed completely armed, while the citizens received him with joy and admiration. procession was the origin and model of future triumphs.* The trophy was dedicated Jupiter Feretrius, so called from the Latin word *ferire*,¹ to smite; for Romulus had prayed that might smite his adversary and him. Varro this

¹ Or from the word *ferre*, to carry, because Romulus had himself carried to the Temple of Jupiter the armour of the king he had killed; or, more probably

from the Greek word *phorvra*, which Livy calls in Latin *ferreum*, and which properly signifies a trophy.

spoils termed *opima*,¹ from *opes*, which signifies riches. probably they so styled from *opus*, the meaning which action. For when the general of an army kills the enemy's general his hand, then only he is allowed to consecrate the spoils called *opima*, as sole performer of that action.* This honour has been conferred only on three Roman chiefs; first Romulus, when he slew Acron the Ceninensian; then Cornelius Cossus, for killing Tolumnius the Tuscan; and lastly, Claudius Marcellus, when Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, fell by his hand. Cossus and Marcellus bore, indeed, the trophies themselves, but drove into Rome in triumphal chariots. But Dionysius is mistaken in saying Romulus made use of a chariot; for historians that Tarquinius, the of Demaratus, first of kings advanced triumphs to this pomp and grandeur. Others say, the first that up this triumph a chariot. However, of Romulus bearing these trophies yet to be seen in Rome, which on foot.

After the defeat of the Ceninenses, while the rest of the Sabines were busied in preparations, the people of Fidenæ, Crustumenum, and Antemnæ, united against the Romans. A battle ensued, in which they were likewise defeated, and surrendered to Romulus, their cities be spoiled, their lands to be divided, and themselves to be transplanted to Rome. All the lands thus acquired he distributed among the citizens, except what belonged to the parents of the stolen virgins; for those he left in the possession of their former owners. The rest of the Sabines, enraged at this, appointed Tatius their general, and carried war to the gates of Rome. The city was difficult of access, having a strong garrison on the hill where the Capitol now stands, commanded by Tarpeius, not by the virgin Tarpeia, some say, who in this represent Romulus a very weak man. However, this Tarpeia, the governor's daughter, charmed with golden bracelets of the Sabines, betrayed the into their hands, and asked, in return for her treason, what they their left Tatius agreeing the condition, she opened of the gates by night, and let in the Sabines. It is not the sentiment of Antigonus alone, who said, "He loved while they betraying, but hated them when they had betrayed;" nor of Caesar, who said, in the case of Rhymitalces the Thracian, "loved the treason, but hated traitor." But commonly affected towards villains, when they have occasion for, just they are towards creatures, which

¹ Festus derives the word *opima* from *ops*, which signifies the earth, and the riches it produces; so that *opima* signifies, that writer, signify rich spoils.

² This is Livy's account of the matter; but Varro, as quoted by Festus, tells us a Roman might be entitled to the *opima* though but a private soldier, *veller opima*, provided he killed and

despoiled the enemy's general. Accordingly Cornelius Cossus had them, for killing Tolumnius, king of the Tuscans, though Cossus was but a tribune, who fought under the command of Emilius Cossus, therefore, in all probability, did not enter Rome in a triumphal chariot, but followed that of his general, with the trophy on his shoulder.

they have need of for their poison and their gall. While they are of use they love them, but abhor them when their purpose is effected. Such were the sentiments of Tatius with regard to Tarpeia when he ordered the Sabines to remember their promise, and to grudge her nothing which they had on their left arms. She was the first to take off his bracelet, and throw it to her, and then that his shield.¹ As every one did the same, she was overpowered by the gold and shields thrown upon her, sinking under the weight, expired. Tarpeius, too, was taken, and executed by Romulus for treason, as Juba writes after Sulpitius Galba. The story given of Tarpeia by other writers, such as Antigonus, is absurd and incredible: They say she was the daughter of Tatius the Sabine general, and, being compelled to live with Romulus, she acted and suffered thus by her own contrivance. The poet Silenus makes a most egregious blunder when he says, Tarpeia betrayed the Capitol, not to the Sabines, but to the Gauls, having fallen in love with their king. Thus he writes:—

From her high dome, Tarpeia, wretched maid,
To the feld Gætic the Capitol betrayed;
The hapless victim of unchaste desires,
She lost the fortress of her squalid state.

And a little after, concerning her death,

No Celt, no fierce Bavarian, e'er
Saw fair Tarpeia to his stormy shore;
Press'd by those shields, whose splendour she admired,
She sunk, and in the shining death expired.

From the place where Tarpeia was buried the hill had the name of the Tarpeian, till Tarquin consecrated the place to Jupiter, at which time her bones were removed, and so it lost her name; except that part of the Capitol from which malefactors are thrown down, which is still called the Tarpeian rock. The Sabines thus possessed of the fort, Romulus in great fury attacked them in battle, which Tatius did not decline, as he saw he had a place of strength to retreat to, in which he was worsted. And, indeed, the spot on which they fought to engage, being surrounded with hills, seemed a promise on both sides of a sharp and bloody contest, because it was so confined, and the outlets were so narrow, that it was impossible either to fly or to pursue. It happened too, that, a few days before, the Tiber had overflowed, and left a deep mud on the plain, where the Forum now stands; which, as it was covered with a crust, was not easily discoverable by the eye, but at the same time was underneath and impracticable. The Sabines, ignorant of this, were pushing forward into it, but by good fortune were prevented. For Curtius, a man of high distinction and spirit, being mounted on a good horse, advanced a considerable way

¹ Piso and other historians say, that Tatius treated her in this manner, because she acted a double part, and endeavoured

to betray the Sabines to Romulus, while she was pretending to betray the Romans to them.

rest.¹ Presently his horse plunged into the slough, and for a moment he endeavoured to disengage him, encouraging him with his voice, and urging him with blows; but finding all ineffectual, he quitted him, and saved himself. From him the place, to this very time, is called the Curtian Lake. The Sabines, having escaped this danger, began the fight with great bravery. The victory inclined neither side, though many were slain, and among the Romans Hostilius; who, they say, was the husband of Hersilia, and grandfather of that Hostilius who reigned after Numa. It is probable, there were many other battles in a short time; but the most memorable was the last; in which Romulus, having received a blow upon the head with a stone, was almost beaten down to the ground, and no longer able to oppose the enemy; then the Romans gave way, and were driven from the plain as far as the Palatine Hill. By this time Romulus, recovering from the shock, endeavoured by force to stop his men in their flight, and loudly called upon them to stand and renew the engagement. But when he saw the rout was general, and that one had courage to face about, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and prayed Jupiter to stop the army, and to re-establish and maintain the Roman cause, which was now in extreme danger. When the prayer ended, many of the fugitives struck with reverence for their king, and their fear was changed into courage. They first stopped where stands the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, so called from his putting a stop to their flight. There they engaged again, and repulsed the Sabines as far as the palace now called Regia, and the temple of Vesta.

When they were preparing here to renew the combat with the same animosity as at first, their ardour was repressed by an astonishing spectacle, which the powers of language are unable to describe. The daughters of the Sabines, that had been forcibly carried off, appeared rushing this way and that with loud cries and lamentations, like persons distracted, amidst the drawn swords, and the dead bodies, to come at their husbands and fathers; some carrying their infants in their arms, some darting forward with dishevelled hair, but all calling by name both upon the Sabines and the Romans, by the tenderest names. Both parties extremely moved, and a truce was made for them between the two armies. Their lamentations pierced the utmost ranks, and

¹ Livy and Macrobius of the Curtian Lake. They tell us, that the Romans repulsed the Sabines; but being thus overpowered by Romulus, and endeavouring to recover his retreat, he happened to fall into the lake, which from that time bore his name: for it was called Lacus Curtius, even to this day. It was situated almost in the centre of the Roman forum. Pausanias says, that the earth having opened, the Aruspices declared it necessary for the safety of the republic, that

the bravest man of the city should throw himself into the gulf; whereupon, one Curtius, mounting on horseback, armed into it, and fell. Before the building of the common sewers, this pool was a sort of sink, which received all the filth of the city. Some writers think, that it received its name from Curtius, consul. M. Cæcilius, it is said, he walked in by the advice of the Aruspices, after it had been struck with lightning.—Varro de Ling. Lat. l. iv.

all were deeply affected; particularly when [] upbraiding [] complaints ended in supplication and entreaty. "What great injury have [] done you," said they, "that we have suffered, and do [] suffer, [] many miseries? We were carried off, by [] who now have us, violently [] illegally. After this violence, [] [] long neglected by our brothers, [] fathers, and relations, that [] were necessitated to unite in the strongest ties with those that [] the objects of our hatred; and [] now brought [] tremble [] the men [] had injured [] so much, when we [] them in danger, and [] lament them [] they [] For you came not [] us from violence while virgins, [] [] avenge [] cause, [] you [] wives from their husbands, and [] mothers from their children; [] assistance more grievous [] us [] your neglect [] disregard. Such love [] experienced [] them, [] such compassion from you. Were the war undertaken in some other cause, yet surely you would stop its ravages for us, [] have [] you fathers-in-law and grandfathers, [] otherwise placed you in [] [] nity [] those whom you seek [] destroy. But [] war [] for us, take us, with your sons-in-law and their children, and restore [] [] parents and kindred; but do not, [] beseech you, rob us of our children and husbands, lest we become captives again." Hersilia having said a great deal to this purpose, and others joining in the same request, a [] was agreed upon, and the generals proceeded to a conference. [] the meantime, the [] presented their husbands and children to their fathers [] brothers, brought refreshments [] those that wanted them, and carried the wounded home to be cured. [] they showed them that they had the ordering of their [] houses, what attentions their husbands paid them, and with what respect and indulgence they were treated. Upon this a peace was concluded, the conditions of which were, that such of the women as chose to remain with their husbands should be exempt from all labour and drudgery, [] except spinning; that the city should be inhabited by the Romans [] Sabines in common, with [] name of Rome, from Romulus; but that all the citizens, from Cures, the capital of the Sabines, and the country of Tattius, should [] called Quirites;¹ and that the regal power, and the command of the army, should be equally shared between them. The place where these articles [] ratified [] still called Comitium,² from the Latin word *coire*, which signifies [] assemble.

The city having doubled [] number of its inhabitants, [] additional [] [] elected from among the Sabines, and the

¹ The word *Quiris*, in the Sabine language, signified both [] art, and a warlike deity armed with a dart. It is uncertain whether the god gave [] name to the dart, or [] [] to the god; but, however that be, this god Quiris or Quirinus was either Mars or some other god of war, and was worshipped in Rome till Romulus, who

after his death was honoured with the name Quirinus, took his place.

² The Comitium was at the foot of the hill Palatine, over against the Capitol. Not far from thence [] two kings built the temple of Vulcan, where they usually met to consult the senate about the most important affairs.

legions were to consist of 6000 foot and 600 horse.¹ The people, too, into three tribes, called Rhamnenses, from Romulus; Tatienses, from Tattius; and Luccerenses, from the *Lucus* or Grove the asylum stood, whither many had fled, and admitted citizens. That they precisely three appears from very Tribes, and of chief officers, who called Tribunes. Each contained ten *Curis* or Wards, which some say were called after the Sabine *curia*; this seems to be false; for many of them have their names several quarters of the city which assigned to them. Many honourable privileges, however, were conferred upon the women; of which these: That the men should give them the way wherever they met them; they should not mention an obscene word, or appear naked before them; that, in case of their killing any person, they should not be tried before the ordinary judges; and that their children should in ornament about their necks, called *Bulla*,² from its likeness a bubble, and a garment bordered with purple. The kings did presently quit their councils; each meeting, for some time, their hundred senators apart; but afterwards they all assembled together. Tattius dwelt where the temple of Moneta stands, and Romulus by the steps of the Fair Shore, as they are called, at the descent from the Palatine Hill to the Great Circus. There, are told, grew the sacred Cornel-tree; the fabulous account of which is, that Romulus once, to try his strength, threw a spear, whose shaft was of cornel-wood, from Mount Aventine that place; the head of which stuck so deep in the ground that no one could pull it out, though many tried; and the soil being rich, nourished the wood that it shot forth branches, and became a trunk of cornel of considerable bigness. His posterity preserved it with religious care, as a thing eminently sacred, and therefore built a wall about it: and when any one that approached it saw it very flourishing and green, but inclining to fade and wither, he presently proclaimed it to all met, who, they to assist in case of fire, cried out for water, and ran from all quarters with full vessels to the place. But when Caius

¹ Eusebius, in his *anabasis* upon Plutarch, has discovered two considerable errors in this place. The first is, that Plutarch adums there were 600 horse put by Romulus in every legion, whereas there never were at any time so many in any of the legions: For there were at first 300 in each legion; after that they rose to 500, and at last to 600, but never came up to 600. In the second place, he tells us that Romulus made the legion to consist of 6000 foot, whereas in his it never more than 3000. He said by some that the first who raised the legion to 6000; Livy informs us that that augmentation was by Scipio Africanus, long before Marius. After the expulsion of the kings, it was augmented from 3000 to 6000, and so on

time after to 8000, and at last, by Scipio, to 10000; but this was never done but upon pressing occasions. The stated force of a legion was 4000 foot and 200 horse.

² The young men, when they took upon them the *toga virilis*, or man's robe, girded the *Bulla*, which is supposed to have been a little hollow ball of gold, and made an offering of it to the *Lares*, or household gods. As to the *Prætexta*, or robe edged with purple, it is worn by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were seventeen. But the mark of Romulus was a mark of the Sabine women, became very common; for the children of the *liberti*, or freed men, it

Cæsar ordered the steps to be repaired, and the workmen were digging it, it is said they inadvertently injured the roots of such manner, that the tree withered away.

The Sabines received the Roman months. Romulus came into the use of their shields, making an alteration in his Roman armour, and that of the Romans, who, before, wore bucklers in the manner of the Greeks. They mutually celebrated each other's feasts and sacrifices, abolishing those of either nation, but above appointing some; of which is the Matronalia,¹ instituted in honour of the women, for their putting an end to the war; and another the Carmentalia.² Carmenta is by some supposed to be one of the Destinies, who presides over human natiivities; therefore she is particularly worshipped by mothers. Others say, she was wife of Evander, the Arcadian, and an oracle addicted to divination, who received inspirations from Apollo, she delivered oracles in verse; thence called Carmenta, for *carmina* signifies verse; but her proper name, as is agreed, is the hands, was Nicostrata. Others, again, with greater probability assert that the former name was given her because she was distracted with enthusiastic fury; for *mente* signifies to be insane. Of the feast of the Lupercalia,³ it would seem to be a feast of lustration; for it is celebrated on one of the inauspicious days of the month of February, which name denotes it to be the month of Purifying; and the day was formerly called Februa. But the true meaning of Lupercalia is the Feast of Wolves; and it seems, for that reason, to be very ancient, as received from the Arcadians, who came over with Evander. This is the general opinion. But the term may be derived from *Lupa*, the wolf; for we see the Luperci begin their course from the place where they say Romulus was exposed. However, if we consider the ceremonies, the origin of the name seems hard to guess: for first, goats were killed; then two noblemen's sons are introduced, and they are to stain their foreheads with a bloody knife, others wipe off the stain directly with wool steeped in milk, which they bring for that purpose. When the stain is wiped off the young men are to laugh. After this they cut the goats' skins in pieces, and run about all naked, except their middle, and with those thongs they meet. The young women avoid not the stroke, as they think it assists conception and childbirth. Another thing proper to this feast is for the Luperci to sacrifice a dog.

¹ During this feast, such of the Roman women as were married, served at table, and received presents from their husbands, as the husbands did their wives in the time of the Matronalia. As the festival of the Matronalia was not only observed in honour of the Sabine women, but consecrated to Mars, and, as some will have it, to Juno Lucina, sacrifices were offered to both these deities. This feast was the subject of Horace's Ode; *Martius cotebis quid agam calende*, etc., and Ovid describes it at large in the

third Book of *Fæst.* *Lucan* says, by mistake, that this feast was kept on the first of April, instead of the first of March, and followed him.

² This is a very solemn feast, kept on Jan. 11, under the Capitol, near the Carmental gate. They dance of this god down to render their labours fruitful, and to give them happy marriages.

³ This festival was celebrated on Feb. 11, in honour of the God Pan.

Butas, who in his *Elegies* given a fabulous account of the origin of the Roman institutions, writes, that when Romulus Amulius, in the transports of victory he ran with great speed the place where wolf suckled brother when infants; that this feast is celebrated, and the young noblemen run, in imitation of that action, striking all in way :—

twice of Rome, Amulius slain.

the pour'd, and with their ranking

all they met.

And the touching of the forehead with a bloody knife a symbol of that slaughter and danger, the wiping off the blood with milk is in memory of their first nourishment. But Caius Acilius relates that before the building of Rome, Romulus and Remus having lost their cattle first prayed to Faunus for in the search of them, then ran out naked seek them, that they might not be incommode; therefore the Luperci about naked. As to dog, if be a feast of lustration, may suppose is sacrificed, in order used purifying; for the Greeks in their purifications make use of dogs, and perform the ceremonies which they call *periskulatismoi*. But if these rites observed in gratitude the wolf that nourished and preserved Romulus, it is with propriety they kill a dog, because it is an enemy to wolves: yet, perhaps, nothing more by it than punish that creature disturbing the Luperci in their running.

Romulus is likewise said have introduced the Sacred Fire, and have appointed the holy virgins, called Vestals.¹ Others attribute this to Numa, but allow that Romulus was remarkably strict in observing other religious rites, and skilled in divination, for which purpose he bore the *Litnus*. This is a crooked staff, with which those that sit to observe the flight of birds (the augurs) describe the several quarters of the heavens. It was kept in the Capitol, but lost when Rome taken by the Gauls; afterwards, when barbarians quitted it, found buried deep in ashes, untouched by the fire, whilst every thing about was destroyed and consumed. Romulus also enacted some laws; amongst the rest that which forbids the wife in any case to leave her husband;² but gives the husband power divorce his wife, in case of her poisoning his children, counterfeiting keys, or being guilty of adultery. But if on any other occasion he put her away, she have moiety of his

¹ Plutarch means that the first who the Sacred Fire at Rome. That there were Vestal virgins, however, before this, at Alba, we are certain, because the mother of Romulus was one of them. The sacred and pure not only kept up in Italy, but in Perse, in Greece, and almost in all.

² Yet this privilege, which thinks a hardship upon the woman, was

indulged the men by in latitude. The women, however, the Romans, came at length to divorce their husbands, as appears from Juvenal (Sat. 6) and Martial (l. x. ep. 41). At the same time it must be observed, to the honour of Roman virtue, was known at Rome for a long time, and known as One Servilius, or Cicerone, was one of the Romans that ever put away his wife.

goods, and the other was to be consecrated to Ceres; and whoever put away his ■■■■ to make an atonement to the gods of ■■■■ earth. It is something particular, that *Romulus appointed ■■■■ punishment for actual parricides, but called all murder parricide, looking upon this ■■■■ abominable, and the other ■■■■ impossible.* For many ages, indeed, he seemed to have judged rightly; ■■■■ was guilty of that crime ■■■■ Rome for almost six hundred years; and Lucius Ostius, after the ■■■■ of Hannibal, is recorded ■■■■ have been ■■■■ that murdered his father.

In the fifth year of the reign of Tatius, ■■■■ of his friends and kinsmen meeting certain ambassadors who ■■■■ going ■■■■ Laurentum ■■■■ Rome,¹ attempted ■■■■ rob them on the road, and, ■■■■ they would ■■■■ suffer it, but stood in their ■■■■ defence, killed them. As this was an atrocious crime, Romulus required that those who committed it should immediately be punished, but Tatius hesitated and put it off. This ■■■■ the first occasion of any open variance between them; for till ■■■■ they ■■■■ behaved themselves as if directed by ■■■■ soul, and the administration had been carried on with all possible unanimity. The relations of those that ■■■■ murdered, finding they could have ■■■■ legal redress from Tatius, fell ■■■■ him and slew him at Lavinium, ■■■■ he ■■■■ offering sacrifice with Romulus;² but they conducted Romulus back with applause, as a prince who paid all proper regard ■■■■ justice. To the body of Tatius he gave an ■■■■ interment at Arminul-trium,³ ■■■■ Mount Aventine; but he took ■■■■ to revenge his death ■■■■ the persons that ■■■■ him. Some historians write, that the Laurentians in great terror gave up the murderers of Tatius; but Romulus let them go, saying, "Blood with blood should be repaid." This occasioned a report, and indeed ■■■■ strong suspicion, that he ■■■■ not sorry to get rid of his partner in the government. None of these things, however, occasioned any disturbance ■■■■ sedition among the Sabines; but, partly out of regard for Romulus, partly out of fear of his power, ■■■■ because they revered him as a god, they all continued well affected to him. This veneration for him extended to many other nations. The ancient Latins ■■■■ ambassadors, and entered into league and alliance with him. Fidenæ, ■■■■ city in the neighbourhood of Rome, ■■■■ took, as ■■■■ say, by sending ■■■■ body of horse before, with orders ■■■■ break the hinges of the gates, and then appearing unexpectedly in person. Others ■■■■ have it, that the Fidenates fir■ attacked and ravaged the Roman territories, ■■■■ were carrying off considerable booty,

¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, they were ambassadors from Lavinium, who ■■■■ been at home to complain of the incursions made by some of Tatius's ■■■■ upon their territories; ■■■■ that as they were returning, the Sabines lay in wait for them on the road, stripped them and killed several of them. Lavinium and Laurentum were neighbouring towns in ■■■■

² Probably this ■■■■ a sacrifice to the

Dei Indigetes of Latium, in which Rome was included. But Liginus writes, that ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ with Romulus on account of ■■■■ sacrifice, but ■■■■ he went alone, to persuade the inha- ■■■■ to pardon the murderers.

³ The place was so called, ■■■■ ceremony of the same name, every year on Oct. ■■■■ them ■■■■ troops were sent and ■■■■ by ■■■■

when Romulus lay **in** ambush **on** them, **and** many of **them** off, **and** took their city. He **did** not, however, demolish it, but **made** **it** a Roman colony, **and** **filled** **it** into it 2500 inhabitants **on** April 13th.

After **that** a plague broke out, so fatal, **and** people **died** **in** without any previous sickness; **and** **the** scarcity of fruits, and barrenness of the cattle, added **to** the calamity. It rained blood, **and** **in** **the** city; so that their unavoidable sufferings were increased with the terrors of superstition; and when the destruction spread itself to Laurentum, then all agreed, it was **best** neglecting to do justice on the murderers of the ambassadors **and** **the** Tatius, **and** the divine vengeance pursued both cities. Indeed, when **the** murderers were given up and punished by both parties, their calamities **were** abated; **and** Romulus purified the city **with** lustrations, which, **to** **us**, are yet celebrated at the **same** **game**. Before the pestilence ceased, the people of Cameria¹ **and** **the** Romans, **and** **the** country, thinking them incapable **of** resistance by reason of **the** sickness. But Romulus soon met **them** in the field, gave them battle, in which he **lost** 6000 of them, **and** took their city, and transplanted half its remaining inhabitants to Rome; adding, on Aug. 1st, to those he left in Cameria, double their number from Rome. So many people had he **in** spare in about sixteen years' time from the building of the city. Among other spoils, he carried from Cameria a chariot of brass, which he consecrated in **the** temple **of** Vulcan, placing upon it his own statue crowned by victory.

His affairs thus flourishing, the weaker part of his **subjects** submitted, satisfied if they could but live in peace; but the **more** powerful, dreading **the** envying Romulus, thought they should **by** any means **prevent** him go unnoticed, but oppose and put a stop to **his** growing greatness. The Veientes, who had a strong city and extensive **territory**,² were the **ancestors** of the Tuscans who began the war, demanding Fidense as their property. But it was not only unjust, but ridiculous, that they who had given the people of Fidense no assistance **in** the greatest extremities, but **had** **let** **them** **perish**, should challenge their houses **and** **land** **in** the possession of other **people**. Romulus, therefore, gave them a **ready** answer; upon which they divided their forces into two bodies; **and** **one** attacked the garrison of Fidense, and **the** other **was** **sent** **against** Romulus. That which **was** **sent** **against** Fidense defeated the Romans, and killed **many** of them; but **was** **defeated** by Romulus, with **the** loss of **more** **than** **the** **other**. They **lost** **the** battle, however, **and** **more**, **of** **Fidense**, **and** **all** **allow** **the** victory **was** **chiefly** **owing** **to** **Romulus** **himself**, whose skill **and** **courage** **was** **very** **displayed**, and **his** **strength** **and** **swiftness** appeared more than **in** **any**. But **the**

¹ This was a town which Romulus had taken before. Its old inhabitants gave this opportunity to rise in arms and kill the Roman garrison.

² **Veii**, capital of Tuscan, was

situated on a craggy rock, about 100 furlongs from Rome; and is compared **by** **Plutarch** of Halicarnassus to Athens for **its** **strength**.

some report entirely fabulous, and utterly incredible, that on that day 14,000 men, above half of whom Romulus slew with his own hand. For even the Messenians have extravagated in their boasts, when they tell that Aristomenes offered a hecatomb three several times, for having as often killed 100 Lacedæmonians.¹ After the Veientes were thus ruined, Romulus suffered the scattered remains to escape, and marched directly to their city. The inhabitants could not bear up after a dreadful blow, but humbly suing for peace, obtained a truce for 100 years, by giving up a considerable part of their territory called Septempagium, which signifies a district of seven towns, together with the salt-pits by the river; besides which, they delivered into his hands 50 of their nobility as hostages. He triumphed for this on Oct. 15, leading among many other captives, the general of the Veientes, a man in years, who seemed on this occasion to have behaved with the prudence which might have been expected from his age. Hence it is that, to this day, when they offer a sacrifice for victory, they lead an old man through the Forum to the Capitol, in a boy's robe, edged with purple, with a bulla about his neck; and the herald cries "Sardians to be sold;" for the Tuscans are said to be a colony of the Sardians, and Veii is a city of Tuscany.

This was the last of the wars of Romulus. After this he behaved as almost all men do who rise by some great and unexpected good fortune to dignity and power; for, exalted with his exploits, and loftier in his sentiments, he dropped his popular affability, and assumed the monarch to an odious degree. He gave the first offence by his dress; his habit being a purple vest, over which he wore a robe bordered with purple. He gave audience in a chair of gold. He had always about him a number of young men called Celeres,² from their dispatch in doing business; and before him went men with staves to keep off the populace, who also wore thongs of leather on their girdles, ready to bind directly any person he should order to be bound. This binding the Latins formerly called *agere*,³ now *alligare*: whence those sergeants were called *Lictores*, and their rods *fusces*; for the sticks they used were that occasion small. Though, perhaps, at first they were called *Litores*, and afterwards, by putting in a c, *Lictores*; for they were the same that the Greeks called *Leitourgoi* (officers for the people); *leitōs*, in Greek, signifies the people, but *laos* the people.

¹ Pausanias confirms this account, mentioning both the time and place of these achievements, as well as the hecatomb offered on account of them to Jupiter Ithomates. Those wars between the Messenians and Spartans were about the time of Tullus Hostilius.

² The Veientes, with the other Hetrurians, were a colony of Lydrans, whose metropolis was the city of Sardis. Other writers date this custom from the time of

the conquest of Sardis by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, when such a number of slaves was brought from that island, that none were to be seen in the market but Sardinians.

³ Romulus ordered the Celeres to attend him a guard of 30 men, ten out of each Curia; and these he called *Quæstus*.

⁴ Plutarch had no critical skill in Latin language.

When [] grandfather Numitor [] in Alba, though [] undoubtedly belonged [] him, yet, [] ple[] [] people, he [] the administration in their own hands; and over [] Sabines¹ (in Rome) he appointed yearly a particular magistrate: thus teaching the great men of [] [] seek a free commonwealth without a king, and by turns [] rule and [] obey. For [] the patricians had no share [] the government, but only an honourable title [] appearance, assembling in the senate-house more for form than business. There, with silent attention, they [] the king give his orders, and differed only from the [] of the people [] this, that they [] home with the first knowledge of what [] determined. This [] they digested [] well as they could; but when of [] authority he divided the conquered lands among [] soldiers, and restored the Veientes their hostages without the [] or approbation of the senate, they considered it [] [] intolerable insult. Hence [] [] suspicions against them, and Romulus soon after unaccountably disappeared. This happened [] the 7th of July (as it is [] called), then *Quintilis*: and [] have [] certainty of anything about it but the time; various ceremonies [] still performed on that day with reference to the event. Nor need [] wonder [] this uncertainty, since, when Scipio Africanus was found dead in his house after supper,² there was no clear proof of the manner of [] death: for some say that, being naturally infirm, he died suddenly; [] that he took poison; and others that his enemies broke into his house by night and strangled him. Besides, [] admitted [] see Scipio's dead body, and every one, from the sight of it, had his [] suspicion or opinion of the []. But [] Romulus disappeared on [] sudden, and no part of his body, or [] his garments, could be found, [] conjectured that the senators, who [] convened in the temple of Vulcan, fell upon him and killed him; after which each carried a part away under his gown. Others say that his exit did not happen in the temple of Vulcan, nor in the presence of the senators only, but while he [] holding [] assembly of the people without the city, [] a place called the Goat's Marsh. The air [] that occasion [] suddenly convulsed and altered in a wonderful manner; [] [] light of the [] failed,³ and they were involved in an astonishing darkness, attended [] every side with [] thunderings and tempestuous

¹ Xylander and [] Stephanus are rationally enough of opinion [] instead of [] [] should read *Albanus*; and [] the Latin translator renders it.

² This was Scipio, the son of Paulus Emilius, adopted by Scipio Africanus. As he constantly opposed the designs of the Gracchi, it was supposed that his wife Sempronius, who was sister to three notorious men, took him off by poison. According to Valerius Maximus, no judicial inquiry was made into the cause of his death; and Victor tells us the corpse was carried out with the face covered with a

linen cloth, that the blackness of it might not appear.

³ Cicero mentions this remarkable darkness in a fragment of his sixth book *De Repub.* And it appears from the astronomical tables, that there was a great eclipse of the sun in the first year of the sixteenth Olympiad, supposed to be the year that Romulus died, on May 20th, which, considering the little exactness there was then in the Roman calendar, might very well coincide with the month of July.

winds. The multitude then dispersed and fled, but nobility gathered body. When the tempest was over, and the light appeared again, the people returned to the same place, and a very anxious inquiry was made for the king; but the patricians would not them to look closely into . . . They commanded them to honour and worship Romulus, who caught up heaven, and who, as he had been a gracious king, would be to a propitious deity. Upon this the multitude away with great satisfaction, and worshipped him, hopes of his favour protection. Some, however, searching minutely into affair, gave the patricians uneasiness; they accused of imposing upon the people a ridiculous tale, they murdered the king with their own hands.

While things this disorder, senator, are told, of great distinction, and famed for sanctity of manners, Julius Proculus by name,¹ who from Alba with Romulus, and had been his faithful friend, into the Forum, and declared upon the oaths, before all the people, as travelling on road, Romulus him, in a form more noble and august than ever, and clad in bright and dazzling armour. Astonished the sight, he said to him, "For what misbehaviour of ours, O king, by accident have you so untimely left us, to labour under the heaviest calumnies, and the whole city to sink under inexpressible sorrow?" To which he answered, "It pleased the gods, my good Proculus, that should dwell men for a time; and after having founded a city which be the powerful and glorious in the world, return heaven, from whence we came. Farewell, then, and go, tell the Romans, that, by the exercise of temperance and fortitude, they shall attain the highest pitch of human greatness; and I, the god Quirinus, will ever be propitious to you." This, by character and oath of relator, gained credit with the Romans, who caught with the enthusiasm, as if they had been actually inspired; and, far from contradicting what they heard, bade adieu all their suspicions of the nobility, united in the deifying of Quirinus, and addressed their devotions to him. This is very like the Grecian concerning Aristæas, Proconnesian, Cleomedes, the Astypaleian. For Aristæas, they us, expired in a fuller's shop; and when his friends came to take away body, it could be found. Soon after, persons coming in a journey said they met Aristæas travelling towards Croton. As for Cleomedes, their account of is, that he was a man of gigantic size and strength; but behaving in a foolish and frantic manner, he was guilty of many violence. At into a school, where he struck the pillar that supported roof with fist, broke asunder, roof fell in and destroyed children. Pursued for this, took refuge in a great chest, and having shut the lid upon him, it down so fast, that many men together could not force it open: when they

¹ A descendant of Iulus or . . .

had the chest to pieces, they not him dead or alive. Struck with this strange affair, they to oracle Delphi, and from the priestess this

race of heroes ends in

It likewise said, that the body of Alcmena was lost, as they were carrying it the grave, and a lying on bier in its stead. Many such improbable tales by who wanted to deify beings naturally mortal. It indeed impious and illiberal leave nothing of virtue; but, the same time, to unite heaven and earth the subject, absurd. We should, therefore, reject fables, when are possessed deniable truth; for, according Pindar,

The body yields death's all-powerful summons;
While the bright image of eternity survives.—

This from the gods: from heaven comes, and heaven it returns; indeed with the body; but when it entirely free and separate from the body, when it becomes disengaged from everything sensual and unholy. For in the language of Heraclitus, the pure soul is of superior excellence,¹ darting from the body like a of lightning from a cloud; but the soul that is carnal and immersed in sense,² like a heavy and dark vapour, with difficulty is and aspires. There is, therefore, no occasion, against nature, send the bodies of good men heaven; but we are to conclude that virtuous souls, by nature and the divine justice, rise from to heroes, from heroes genii, and at last, if, the mysteries, they be perfectly cleansed and purified, shaking off all remains of mortality, and all the power of the passions, then they finally attain the most glorious and perfect happiness, and ascend from genii to gods, by the vote of the people, but by the just and established order nature.³

The that Romulus had of Quirinus, think, given him, as (another) Mars; others, because they call the

¹ This is a very difficult passage, which, excellent the sentiment, has found that is light, is sense of the original. Decker has translated it from some such, and remarks the property of the expression, with respect to that position of Heraclitus, that fire is the principle of all things. The French critic went upon the supposed analogy between fire and dryness; but there is a much more natural and more obvious analogy, help us the interpretation of this passage; that is, the near relation which dryness has to purity cleanliness.

² Milton, in his Comus, uses the same comparison; for which, however, he is indebted rather to Plato than to Heraclitus.

The lavish and the
dedicated to the sacred parts

The soul grows elated by ambition, immodesty, and intemperance, till she quite loses the divine property of her first being. Such are their thick and gloomy shadows damp set seen in charnel vaults and sepulchres, lingering and waiting by a new-made grave, As loath to leave the body that it loves, And take itself by mortal manhood To a depressed and degraded state.

³ Hesiod was the first who distinguished four natures, men, heroes, genii, and gods. saw room, it seems, for perpetual progression and improvement in a state of immortality. And the heathens tell that before the last degree, that of divinity is reached, beings are replunged their primitive of darkness, one would imagine they had heard something of the fallen angels.

Roman Quirites, others, again, because the name of Quiris to the point of a spear, or the itself, and that of Quiritis, to the statues of when represented leaning on a spear. Moreover, they styled a certain spear, which consecrated in the palace, Mars, and those that distinguished themselves in war were rewarded with a spear. Romulus, then, a martial or warrior god, named Quirinus, the hill which his temple stands has the name of Quirinalis on his account. The day which he disappeared a flight of the people, and *Nona Caprotina*, because they of the city sacrifice at the Goat's Marsh. On this occasion they pronounce aloud of their proper names, Marcus Caius for instance, representing the flight that then happened, and their calling upon another, amidst the confusion. Others, however, of opinion that this is a representation of flight, but of haste and eagerness, deriving the ceremony this source. When the Gauls, after the taking of Rome, driven by Camillus, and the city thus weakened easily recovered itself, many of the Latins, under the conduct of Livius Posthumus, marched against. This army sitting down before Rome, a herald was sent to signify that the Latins were desirous to renew their old alliance and affinity, which was now declining, by intermarriages. If, therefore, they would send them a good number of their virgins and widows, peace and friendship should be established between them, as it was before with the like occasion. When the Romans heard this, though they were afraid of war, yet they looked upon the giving up of their not at all more eligible than captivity. While they were in this suspense, a servant-maid, named Philotes, or, according to others, Tutola, advised them to do neither, but by a stratagem (which she had thought of) to avoid the and the giving of hostages. The stratagem was to dress Philotes herself, and other handsome slaves, in good attire, and send them, instead of freeborn virgins, enemy. Then, the night, Philotes was to light a torch, a signal for the Romans to attack the enemy, and dispatch them in their sleep. The Latins were satisfied, and the put in practice. For accordingly Philotes did a torch a wild fig tree, screening behind with curtains and coverlets from sight of the enemy, whilst it was visible to the Romans. As they it, they out in great haste, often calling upon each other the gates to be expeditious. Then they fell upon the Latins, who expected nothing less, and cut them in pieces. Hence this memory of the victory. The day was called *Nona Caprotina*, on account of the wild fig-tree, the Roman tongue, *caprificus*. The entertained the fields, in booths of the branches of the fig tree and the maids companies about and play, afterwards they come blows, throw another, in remembrance their then assisting and standing by the in the battle. These particulars are admitted but by few historians. Indeed, their call

upon each other's [redacted] in the daytime, and their walking [redacted] procession [redacted] *Goat's Marsh*, [redacted] persons that [redacted] going [redacted] a sacrifice, seems rather [redacted] be placed to the former account, though possibly both these events might happen, in distant periods, on [redacted] day. Romulus is said to have been [redacted] years of [redacted] in the 38th of his reign,¹ when he was taken from the world.

NUMA.

THERE [redacted] likewise [redacted] great diversity amongst historians [redacted] time in which king Numa lived, though [redacted] families [redacted] trace their genealogy up [redacted] him with sufficient accuracy. However, [redacted] certain writer called Clodius, [redacted] his emendations of chronology, affirms [redacted] the ancient archives [redacted] destroyed when Rome [redacted] sacked by the Gauls; and that those which [redacted] shown [redacted] such [redacted] forged in favour of some persons who wanted to stretch their lineage far back, and to deduce it from the most illustrious houses. Some say that Numa was the scholar of Pythagoras,² but others contend that he [redacted] unacquainted with the Grecian literature, either alleging that his own genius was sufficient to conduct him to excellence, [redacted] that he was instructed by some *barbarian* philosopher superior [redacted] Pythagoras. Some, again, affirm that Pythagoras [redacted] Samos flourished about five generations below the times of Numa; but that Pythagoras the Spartan, who won the prize at the Olympic race in the sixteenth Olympiad (about the third year of which it was that Numa came to the throne), travelling into Italy, became acquainted with that prince, and assisted him in regulating the government. Hence many Spartan customs, taught by Pythagoras, were intermixed with the Roman. But this mixture might have another cause, [redacted] Numa [redacted] of Sabine extraction, and the Sabines declared themselves to have been [redacted] Lacedæmonian colony.³ It is difficult, however, [redacted] adjust the times exactly, particularly those that are only distinguished with the [redacted] of the Olympic [redacted] querors, of which [redacted] told Hippias, the Theban, made a collection

¹ [redacted] of Halicarnassus (and in [redacted] Plutarch himself, in the beginning of the life of Numa) [redacted] that Romulus left the world in the thirty-seventh year after the [redacted] of [redacted]. But [redacted] two historians may be reconciled as to the age he died at. For Plutarch says, he was then full fifty-four years of age, and Dionysius that he was in his fifty-fifth year. — *Vide Plut. Conviv.*

² Pythagoras [redacted] philosopher went next into [redacted] reign [redacted] Tarquin, which was in the fifty-first Olympiad, and four generations (as Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us) after Numa.

³ The same Dionysius informs us, that he found in the history of the Sabines, that, while Lycurgus was resident in his nephew's [redacted] (Dionysius should be) some of the Lacedæmonians, unable to endure the severity of his laws, fled into Italy, and settled first at Pomotia; from whence several of them removed into the country of the Sabines, and, uniting with that people, taught [redacted] some [redacted] particularly those relating to the conduct of war, to fortitude, patience, and a stern frugal manner of living. This colony, then, settled in Italy 120 years before the birth [redacted]

■ ■ ■ ■ ■ period ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ vouchers. ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ relate what ■ ■ ■ have ■ ■ ■ with ■ ■ ■ remarkable concerning Numa, beginning from that point of time which ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ our purpose.

■ ■ ■ in ■ ■ ■ thirty-seventh year from ■ ■ ■ building ■ ■ ■ Rome, ■ ■ ■ of ■ ■ ■ reign of Romulus, on the seventh of ■ ■ ■ month ■ ■ ■ July (which day is ■ ■ ■ called *Nonæ Caprue*) when that prince ■ ■ ■ of the city ■ ■ ■ offer a solemn sacrifice at ■ ■ ■ place called the *Goat's-Market*, in ■ ■ ■ presence of the senate and great part of ■ ■ ■ people. ■ ■ ■ Suddenly there happened ■ ■ ■ great alteration in the air, and the clouds burst in a storm of wind and hail. The rest of the ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ struck with terror and fled, but Romulus disappeared, and could not be found either alive or dead. Upon this the senators ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ a violent suspicion, and a report was propagated against them among the people, that having long been weary of the yoke of kingly government, and desirous to get the power into their own hands, they ■ ■ ■ murdered the king. Particularly as he had ■ ■ ■ them for some time in an arbitrary and imperious manner. But they found ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ obviate this suspicion, by paying divine honours to Romulus ■ ■ ■ a person that ■ ■ ■ had been privileged from ■ ■ ■ fate of other mortals, and was only removed to a happier scene. Proculus, ■ ■ ■ man of high rank, made oath that he saw Romulus carried up to heaven in complete armour, and heard a voice commanding ■ ■ ■ he should be ■ ■ ■ *Quirinus*.

■ ■ ■ disturbances and tumults arose in the city about the election of ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ king, the later inhabitants being ■ ■ ■ yet thoroughly incorporated with the first, the commonalty fluctuating and ■ ■ ■ settled in itself, and the patricians ■ ■ ■ of animosity and jealousies of each other. All, indeed, agreed that a king should be appointed, but they differed and debated, not only about ■ ■ ■ person to be ■ ■ ■ upon, but from which of the two nations he should be elected. For neither could they who, with Romulus, built the city, endure that the Sabines, who had been admitted citizens, and obtained a share of the lands, should attempt to command those from whom they ■ ■ ■ received such privileges; ■ ■ ■ yet could the Sabines depart from their claim ■ ■ ■ giving a king ■ ■ ■ their ■ ■ ■ Rome, having this good argu- ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ their favour, that ■ ■ ■ upon the ■ ■ ■ of Tatius they had suffered Romulus peaceably to enjoy ■ ■ ■ throne without ■ ■ ■ colleague. It ■ ■ ■ also to be considered that they ■ ■ ■ not come as inferiors to join a superior people, ■ ■ ■ by their rank ■ ■ ■ and number added strength and dignity ■ ■ ■ the city that ■ ■ ■ ved them. These ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ arguments on which they founded their claims. Lest ■ ■ ■ dispute should produce ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ confusion ■ ■ ■ there was no king, nor any steersman at the helm, the senators made an order that 150 members who composed their body¹ should

¹ According to our author in the life of Romulus, the number of the senators was 300. Dionysius says that writers differed in this particular, some affirming that 100 senators were added to the original num-

ber upon the union of the Sabines with the Romans; and others that only 50 were added. Livy gives the most probable account of the manner of the interference. The senators, he says, divided themselves

each, ■ his turn, he attired in the robes of state; in ■ of *Quirinus* offer ■ stated sacrifices to the gods, and despatch ■ whole public business, six hours ■ the day, and six hours ■ night. This distribution of time seemed ■ contrived, in point of equality, amongst the regents, and the change of power from hand ■ d reverted ■ being obnoxious to ■ people, who ■ same person in ■ day and ■ night reduced from ■ king ■ private man. This occasional administration the Romans call ■ *Inter-*

But though the ■ managed in this moderate ■ popular way, ■ could not escape the suspicions ■ complaints of the people, that they were changing ■ g ■ into ■ oligarchy, ■d ■ they ■ the direction of all ■ in their hands, ■ unwilling to h ■ king. At last it was agreed between ■ parties, that one nation should choose ■ king ■ of the whole body of the other. This ■ considered ■ best ■ of putting ■ stop ■ the present contention, and of inspiring the king with ■ affection for both parties, since he would ■ gracious ■ these, because they ■ elected him, and ■ those ■ his kindred and countrymen. The Sabines leaving the Romans to their option, they preferred a Sabine king of their ■ electing, to a Roman chosen by the Sabines. Consulting, therefore, among themselves,¹ they fixed upon Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, who was not of the number of those that ■ migrated to Rome, but so celebrated for virtue, that ■ received the nomination even with greater applause than the Romans themselves. When they had acquainted the people with their resolution, they sent the most eminent personages of both nations ambassadors, ■ entreat him to ■ and take upon him the government.

Numa ■ of Cures, ■ considerable city of the Sabines, from which the Romans, together with the incorporated Sabines, took the name of *Quirites*. He ■ the son of a person of distinction named Pomponius, and the youngest of four brothers. It seemed ■ be by the direction of the gods, that he ■ born ■ April 21, the ■ day that Rome ■ founded by Romulus. ■ mind ■ naturally disposed ■ virtue; and he ■ further subdued it by discipline, patience, ■d philosophy, ■ only purging it of ■ gro ■ and ■ infamous passions, but ■ that ambition and rapaciousness which was reckoned honourable amongst the barbarians: persuaded that *true fortitude consists ■ conquest of appetites by ■*. On this ■ all luxury and splendour from his house; and both ■ citizens and strangers found in him ■ faithful counsellor, and an upright judge

into decuries or tens. These decuries ■ which ■ governs first; and the decury to whose lot it fell enjoyed the supreme authority for five days; yet, in such ■ manner that one person only of the governing decury had the design of ■ veridity at a time.

¹ The interrex, for the time being, hav-

ing summoned the people, addressed them ■: "Romans, elect ■ our ■ king; the senate ■ their consent; ■ if you choose a prince worthy to ■ the ■, the senate will confirm you ■. The people were so well pleased with this commendation of the senate that they ■ the choice to them.

As for his hours of leisure, he spent them in the pursuits of pleasure, in schemes of profit, but in the worship of the gods, and in rational inquiries into their nature and their power. His name became so illustrious that Tatius, who was the associate of Romulus in the kingdom, having an only daughter named Tatia, bestowed her upon him. He was not, however, so much elated with this match as to remove to the court of his father-in-law, but continued in the country of the Sabines, paying his attentions to his father, who was now grown old. Tatia was partaker of his retirement, and preferred the calm enjoyment of life with her husband in privacy, to the honours and distinction in which she might have lived with her father at Rome. Thirteen years after their marriage she died.

Numa then left the society of the city, and passed his time in wandering about alone in the sacred groves and lawns, in the most retired and solitary places. Hence the report concerning the goddess Egria chiefly took its rise; and it was believed that he was not from any inward melancholy turn that he avoided human conversation, but from his being admitted to that which was more venerable and excellent, from the honour he had of a familiar intercourse with a divinity that loved him, which led him to happiness and knowledge more than mortal. It is obvious enough, how much this resembles many of the ancient stories received and delivered down by the Phrygians of Atys,¹ the Bithynians of Herodotus, and the Arcadians of Endymion: to whom might be added many others, who were thought to have attained to superior felicity, and to be loved in an extraordinary manner by the gods. And, indeed, it is rational enough to suppose, that the deity would not place his affection upon horses or birds, but rather upon human beings, eminently distinguished by virtue; and that he neither dislikes nor disdains to hold conversation with a man of wisdom and piety. But that a divinity should be captivated with the external beauty of any human body is irrational to believe. The Egyptians, indeed, make a distinction in this case, which they think not an absurd one, that it is impossible for a woman to be impregnated by the approach of some divine spirit; but that a man may have no corporeal intercourse with a goddess. But they do not, however, consider that a mixture, of what

¹ Numa's inclination to solitude, and his custom of retiring into the secret places of the forest of Aricia, gave rise to several popular opinions. Numa believed that the nymph Egria dictated to him his laws, both civil and religious, which he established. And, indeed, he declared so himself, in order to procure a divine sanction to them. But, as no great man is without aspirations, others have thought, that under this affected passion for woods and caves was concealed another more real and less concealed passion, which gave occasion to that version of Juvénal

in speaking of the grove of Egria (Sat. III. ver. 15)

His old nestman Numa *Unguentum amicum*

Ovid says, that to remove her grief for the loss of Numa, Diana changed her into a fountain which still bears her name — *Metam.* l. xv.

² Atys was said to be beloved by the goddess Cybele, and Endymion by Diana; but we believe there is nowhere else any mention made of this Herodotus, as Rhodius, as I learn from his MS. calls

may, equally communicates its being. In short, regard which the gods have for men, though, like a human passion, it be called love, must be employed in forming their manners, and raising them to higher degrees of virtue. In this sense may be the assertion of the poets, Phorbos,¹ Hyacinthus, and Admetus, were beloved by Apollo; and that Hippolytus, Sicyonian, was equally in his favour; that he was from Cirrha to Sicyon, the priestess, signify Apollo's satisfaction, repeated this heroic verse:—

He comes,—again the much-loved hero comes.

It is Pan whom Pindar² is in love with Pindar³ on of poetry; that Archilochus and Hesiod,⁴ after death, were honoured by the heavenly powers for the same reason. Sophocles, too, was blessed in his lifetime with the conversation of the god Æsculapius, of which many proofs still remain; and his death procured him burial.⁵ Now, if we admit that he was so highly favoured, we deny that Zaleucus,⁶ Minos, Zoroaster, Numa, and Lycurgus, kings and lawgivers, were happy in the respect? Nay, rather we shall think that the gods might seriously converse with such excellent persons as these, to instruct and encourage them in their great attempts; whereas, if they indulged poets and musicians to the grace, it must be by way of diversion. To such as are of another opinion, I shall say, however, with Bacchylides, *The way is broad*. For it is an unpalatable account of the which others give, when they tell us that Lycurgus, Numa, and other great men, finding their people difficult to manage, and alterations to be made in their several governments, pretended commissions from heaven, which salutary, at least those for whom they were invented.

¹ Phorbos was the son of Triopas, king of Argos. He delivered the Rhodians from a prodigious number of serpents that infested their island, and particularly from one furious dragon that had devoured a great many people. He was, therefore, supposed to be dear to Apollo, who had slain the Python. After his death he was placed in the heavens, with the dragon he had destroyed, in the constellation Ophiurus or Serpentarius. Hyacinthus was the son of Amyclas, founder of the city of Amyclæ, near Sparta. He was beloved by Apollo and Zephyrus, and was killed in a fit of jealousy by the latter, who, with a puff of wind, caused a quail thrown by Apollo to fall upon his head. He was changed into a flower. De Lucæ, l. viii. Ovid. Metam. l. x. fab. 5. Admetus was the son of Phœbus, king of Thessaly. He said that Apollo kept his sheep.

² Pindar had a particular devotion for the god Pan, and therefore took up his

stode near the temple of Rhea and Pan. He composed the hymns which the Theban virgins sung on the festival of that deity; and it is said he had the happiness to hear Pan himself singing one of his odes.

³ Archilochus was slain by a soldier of Egeus, who was obliged by the priestess of Apollo to make expiation for having killed a man consecrated to the muses. As for Hesiod, the Orchomenians, a people of Boeotia, being terribly afflicted by a plague, were ordered by the oracle to remove the bones of that poet from Neapætus in Attolia into their country.

⁴ Archilochus died at Athens, while Ly-mæder was carrying on the siege of the city; and Bacchus is said to have appeared to the Spartan in a dream, and ordered him to the new Athenian system to be buried at Athens.

⁵ Archilochus gave laws to the Magnæ Greciæ; Zoroaster, one of the most, and King of the Medians, to his own country; and Minos to the island of Crete.

was [] year, when [] came [] the kingdom. The speakers were Proculus and Velesus, whom the people [] had their [] upon for the royal dignity, the [] being attached [] Proculus, and the Sabines to Velesus. As they imagined [] would gladly embrace his good fortune, they made but a [] speech. They found it, however, no easy [] to persuade him, but [] obliged to make [] of much entreaty [] draw him [] peaceful [] he [] fond of [] government of [] city, born, [] were, and brought up in [] the presence, therefore, of [] father, and [] of his kinsmen, named Marcius, [] this answer: "Every change of human life has its dangers; [] has [] sufficiency for everything, and [] nothing in his present situation to be complained of, what [] madness [] lead him from his usual track of life, which, [] It has no other advantage, has that of certainty, to experience another as yet doubtful and unknown? But the dangers that attend his government [] beyond [] uncertainty, if [] may form [] judgment from the fortunes of Romulus, who laboured under the suspicion of taking off Tatius, his colleague, and was supposed [] have lost his [] life with equal injustice. Yet Romulus is celebrated as [] of divine origin, as supernaturally nourished when [] infant, and [] wonderfully preserved. For my part, I [] only of mortal race, and you [] sensible my nursing and education boast of nothing extraordinary. As for my character, if it has [] distinction, it has been gained [] way [] likely to qualify [] for [] king, in scenes of repose and employments by no means arduous. My genius is inclined to peace, my love has long been fixed upon it, and I have studiously avoided [] confusion of war. I have also drawn others, as far as my influence extended, to the worship of the gods, to mutual offices of friendship, and [] spend the rest of their time in tilling the ground and feeding cattle. The Romans may have unavoidable wars left upon their hands by their late king, for [] maintaining of which you have need of another [] active and [] enterprising. Besides, the people [] of a warlike disposition, spirited with success, and plainly enough discover their inclination [] extend their conquests. Of course, therefore, a person who has [] his heart upon the promoting [] religion and justice, and drawing men off from the love of violence and war, would [] become ridiculous and contemptible [] a city [] has more occasion for [] general than [] king."

Numa in this [] declining the crown, the Romans, on [] other hand, exerted [] their endeavours to obviate his objections, and begged of him not to throw them into confusion and civil [] again, [] there [] no other whom both parties would unanimously elect. When the ambassadors had retired, his father and [] Marcius privately urged him, by all the arguments [] their power, to receive this great and [] gift of heaven. "If contented," [] they, "with [] competence, you desire [] riches, [] aspire after the honour of sovereignty, having a higher and better distinc-

tion in virtue; yet consider a king is minister God, awakens and puts in action your native wisdom and justice. Decline not, therefore, authority, which a wise man a for great and good actions; where dignity may added ligion, and may brought over to piety, in the easiest readiest way, by influence of the prince. Tatius, though a stranger, beloved by this people, and they pay divine honours to the memory of Romulus. Besides, who knows, they are victorious, but they may be satiated with war, and having further wish for triumphs and spoils, may be desirous of a mild and just governor for the establishing of good laws and the settling of peace? But should they ever be so ardently inclined war, yet is it better turn their violence another way, and be the of union friendship between the country of the Sabines, and so great and flourishing a that of Rome? These inducements, told, were strengthened by auspicious omens, and by the zeal and ardour of his fellow-citizens, who, as they had learned the subject of the embassy, in a body him to take the government upon him, as the only means to appease all dissensions, and effectually incorporate the two nations into one.

When he had determined to go, he offered sacrifice the gods, and then forward to Rome. Struck with love and admiration of and people him on the way; the welcomed him with blessings and shouts of joy; the temples were crowded with sacrifices; and so universal the satisfaction, that the city might have received a kingdom, instead of a king. When they into the *Forum*, Spurius Vettius, whose turn it was then to be *Interrex*, put it to the vote, whether Numa should be king, and the citizens agreed to it with voice. The robes and other distinctions of royalty then were offered him, but he commanded them to stop, his authority yet wanted the sanction of heaven. Taking therefore with him the priests and *augurs*, he went up the *Capitol*, which the Romans at that time called the *Tarpeian* rock. There the chief of the *augurs* covered the head of Numa, and turned face towards the south; then standing behind him, and laying his right hand upon his head, offered up his devotions, and looked around him, in hopes of seeing birds, other signal from the gods. An incredible silence reigned among the people, anxious for the event, lost in suspense, till the auspicious birds appeared and passed the right hand. Then Numa took the royal robe and went down from the mount the people, who received him with loud acclamations, the pious of men, and beloved gods.

act of government was to discharge the body of

1 So it is in the text of Plutarch, as it now stands; but it appears from Livy that the *augur* covered his own head, not that of Numa, *Augur ad locum cum capite velato, sed ad caput.* And,

Indeed, the *augur* always covered his head in a gown peculiar to his office, called *stola*, when he made his observations.

Celerus,¹ whom always kept about his as guards; for he neither chose to distrust those who put a confidence in him, nor reign over people could distrust him. In place, the priests of Jupiter one Romulus, whom he styled *Flamen Quirinalis*. *Flamines* a for priests before that time, and it said corrupted from *Pilamines*, a term derived from *Piloi*, which in Greek signifies *caps*,² (for they wore, seems, a kind of caps or hoods); the Latin language had many more Greek words mixed with it then it has this time. Thus royal mantles by the Romans called *Kane*, which Juba from *G Chlæna*, and the of *Camillus*,³ given to the youth who served in temple of Jupiter, and who to have parents alive, the which of the Greeks give to Mercury, account of being attendant of that god.

Numa having settled these with a view himself in the people's good graces, immediately after attempted soften them, as iron is softened by fire, and to bring them from a violent and warlike disposition, to a juster and gentle temper. For, if any city ever a state of inflammation, as Plato expresses it, Rome certainly was, being composed first of the hardy and resolute men, whom boldness and despair had driven from all quarters, nourished and grown up to power by a series of wars, and strengthened even by blows and conflicts, piles fixed in the ground become firmer under the strokes of hammer. Persuaded that no ordinary means were sufficient to and reduce high-spirited untractable a people to mildness and peace, he called in the assistance of religion. By sacrifices, religious dances, and processions, which he appointed, wherein himself officiated, he contrived to mix charms of festivity social pleasures with the solemnity of the ceremonies. Thus soothed their minds, and calmed their fierceness and martial fire. Sometimes, also, by acquainting them with prodigies from heaven, by reports of dreadful apparitions and menacing voices, inspired them with terror and humbled them with superstition. This principal of the report, that he drew wisdom from the of Pythagoras: for a great part of philosophy of latter, well as the government of the former, consisted in religious attentions and the worship of the gods. likewise said, solemn appearance and air of sanctity copied from Pythagoras. That philosopher had far tamed

¹ Numa did not make use of them as guards, but as inferior ministers, who were take care of the the direction the tribunes, who had command them a military capacity.

² Others think they took their names from the flame-coloured tufts they had on their caps. They were denominated from the particular god to whom their ministry

was confined, as *Flamen Dialis*, the Priest of Jupiter; *Flamen* s, of Mars.

³ *Camillus* is derived from the Bottle *Kedmales*, which properly signifies a mixture. In every temple there was a of quality. business it was minister to the priest. It was necessary that the father and mother of the youth should be both alive.

eagle that, by pronouncing certain words, could stop it its flight, bring it down; and passing through the multitudes assembled the Olympic games, he showed them his golden thigh; the other arts and actions, by which he pretended something supernatural. This Timon Philasian write,

To catch applause Pythagoras
A noiseless r and grandeur of expression.

Numa feigned that goddess or mountain nymph favoured him with her private regards, and that he had frequent conversations with the To the latter he ascribed most of revelations; and there in particular that he called *Tacita*, much to say, the *mute of silen c.* whom he taught the Romans to distinguish with their veneration. By this, too, he seemed show his knowledge and approbation of the Pythagorean precept of silence.

His regulations concerning images likewise have relation doctrine of Pythagoras; who was of opinion that the First Cause was not an object of sense, nor liable to passion, but invisible, incorruptible, and discernible only by the mind. Thus *Nu-* forbade the Romans to represent the Deity in the form either of beast. Nor was there among them formerly any image or statue of the Divine Being: during the 170 years they built temples, indeed, and other sacred domes, but placed in them figure of any kind: persuaded that it is impious to represent things divine by what is perishable, and that we can have no conception of God but by the understanding. His sacrifices, too, resembled the Pythagorean worship: for they were without any effusion of blood, consisting chiefly of flour, libations of wine, and other very simple and inexpensive things.

To these arguments other circumstances are added, to prove that these two great men were acquainted with each other. One which is, that Pythagoras was enrolled a citizen of Rome. This account we have in an address to Antenor from Epicharmus, a writer of comedy, and a very ancient author, who himself the school of Pythagoras. Another is, that Numa having four sons, called one of them Mamercus, after the of a of Pythagoras. From him too, they tell us, the Æmilian family is descended, which one of the noblest in Rome; the king having given him the of Æmilius, of his graceful and engaging of speaking. And I have myself been informed by several persons in Rome, that Romans being commanded by the oracle

¹ In the city of Erythra, there was a of Minerva, where the priestess was called *Herychia*, that is, the compound, the silent.

² According to the *Quint.* Epicharmus flourished B.C. 472; and it is certain it must have been about that time because he was at the court of Hiero.

³ Some suppose, to countenance the vanity of certain noble families in Rome,

in deducing their genealogy from Numa, have given that prince some common opinion is, that he had a daughter, named *Comilla*. *Æmili* were one of the most in Rome, and the *Lepidi*, the *Pauli*, and the *Papii*. The word *Atreus*, in *Ægyptus*, in Greek, signifies gentle, graceful.

to erect two statues,¹ ■ the wisest, and the other ■ the bravest of the Grecians, ■ ■ ■ brass the figures of Pythagoras and Alcibiades.

To Numa is attributed the institution of the high order of priests called *Pontifices*,² ■ which he is said to have presided himself. Some say they ■ called *Pontifices*, ■ employed in the service of those *powerful* gods that govern the world; for *potens* in the Roman language signifies *powerful*. Others, from their being ordered by the lawgiver to perform such secret offices as ■ in their *power*, and standing excused when there ■ ■ ■ great impediment. But most writers assign a ridiculous reason for the ■ ■ if they ■ called *Pontifices* from their offering sacrifices upon ■ *bridge*, which the Latins ■ *pontem*, such kind of ceremonies it seems being looked upon ■ the most sacred, ■ of great antiquity. These priests, too, are said to have been commissioned ■ keep the bridges in repair, ■ one of the ■ indispensable parts of their holy office. For the Romans considered ■ ■ ■ execrable impiety to demolish the wooden bridge; which, ■ are told, ■ built without iron, and put together with pins of wood only, by the direction of some oracle. The stone bridge was built many ages after, when Æmilius ■ quaestor. Some, however, inform us that the wooden bridge ■ not constructed in the time of Numa, having the last hand put ■ it by Ancus Marcius, who was grandson to Numa by his daughter.

The *pontifex maximus*, chief of these priests, is interpreter of all sacred rites, or rather a superintendent of religion, having the care not only of public sacrifices, but even of private rites and offerings, forbidding the people ■ depart from the stated ceremonies, and teaching them how to honour and propitiate the gods. He had also the inspection of the holy virgins called *Vestals*. For to Numa is ascribed the sacred establishment of the vestal virgins, and the whole service with respect to the perpetual fire, which they watch continually. This office ■ ■ appropriated ■ them, either because fire, which is of a pure and incorruptible nature, should ■ looked after by persons untouched and undefiled, or else because virginity, ■ fire, is barren and unfruitful. Agreeably ■ this last reason, ■ the places in Greece where the sacred fire is preserved unextinguished, ■ ■ Delphi and Athens, not virgins, but widows ■ child-bearing, have ■ charge of it. If it happens by any accident

¹ Flory tells us (l. xxiv. c. 5) it was in the time of their war with the Ætolians that the Romans were ordered to set up these statues; that they were accordingly placed in the *comitium*, and that they remained there till the dictatorship of Sylla. The oracle, by this direction, probably intimated, that the Romans, if they desired to be victorious, should imitate the wisdom and valour of the Greeks.

² Numa created four, who were all patricians. But in the year of Rome 465 or 464, four plebeians were added to the

number. The king himself ■ ■ ■ to have been the chief of them, or *seruatus*; though Livy attributes honour to another person of the same name, viz. Numa Marcius, the son of Marcus, one of the senators. It seems, however, not improbable that Numa, who was of so religious a turn, reserved the chief dignity in the priesthood to himself, as kings had done in the first ages of the world, and as the emperors of Rome did afterwards.

put out, the sacred lamp is said to have been at Athens, under the tyranny of Aristion;¹ at Delphi, when the temple was burned by the Medes; and at Rome, in the Mithridatic war, also in the civil war,² when only the fire was extinguished and the lamp overturned; it is not to be lighted again from another fire, but is to be gained by drawing a pure and unpolluted flame from the sunbeams. They kindle it generally with vessels of brass, by the conic section of a rectangled triangle, whose lines from the circumference meet in one central point. This being placed against the sun, the rays converge to its centre, which, by reflection, acquiring the force and activity of fire, rarefies the air, and immediately kindle such light and dry wood as they think fit to apply.³ Some are of opinion, that the sacred virgins have nothing but a perpetual fire. Others say they have some private rites besides, kept from sight but not from their body.

It is reported that at first only two virgins were consecrated by Numa, whose names were Gegania and Verania; afterwards others, Canuleia and Tarpeia; to whom Servius added two more; that number has continued to this time. The *vestals* were obliged by the king to preserve their virginity for 30 years. The first 10 years they spent in learning their office; the next 10 in putting in practice what they had learned; and the third period in the instructing of others. At the conclusion of this time, such as chose it had liberty to marry, and quitting their sacred employment to take up another. However, we have account of but very few that accepted this indulgence, and those did not prosper. They generally became prey to repentance and regret, from whence the rest, inspired with a religious fear, were willing to end their lives under the same institution.

The king honoured them with great privileges, such as power to make a will during their father's life, and to transact their affairs as if they were a guardian, the mothers of three children. When they went abroad, they carried the *fascis* carried before them;⁴ and if, by accident, they met a person condemned to execution, they were granted him. But the *vestal* was to make oath,⁵ that it was by chance she met him and not by design. It was death to go under the chair in which they were carried.

¹ This Aristion held out a long time at Sylla, and was killed at Athens in the time of the Mithridatic war. Aristion committed innumerable outrages in the city, and was the cause of its being plundered. As for the sacred fire, it was kept in the temple of Minerva.

² Livy tells (l. 80) that towards the conclusion of the civil war between Sylla and Marius, Marcus Scaevola, the pontiff, was at the entrance of the temple of Vesta, but we do not find that the sacred fire was extinguished. And even when the temple was burned, towards

the end of the first Punic war, L. Caelius Metellus then pontiff, rushed through the flames, and brought off the *Palladium* and other sacred things, though the fire was at its height.

³ Burning glasses were invented by Archimedes, who flourished 900 years after Christ.

⁴ This honour was not bestowed upon them by Numa, but by the triumvirate in the year of Rome 713.

⁵ Neither a *vestal* nor a priest of Jupiter was obliged to take an oath. They were believed to be sacred.

For offences these virgins were punished with stripes; and sometimes the pontifex maximus gave them the discipline naked, in some dark place, and under the cover of a veil: but she broke her vow of chastity was buried alive by the Colline gate. There, within walls, is raised a little of earth, in Latin *Agger*; under which is prepared a small cell, with steps to descend to it. In this are placed a bed, a lighted lamp, and some slight provisions, such as bread, water, milk, and oil, they thought it impious to consecrate a person consecrated with awful ceremonies, by such a death as that of famine.¹ The criminal is carried to punishment through the *Forum*, in a litter well covered without, and bound up in such a manner that her cries be heard. The people silently make way for the litter, follow with marks of and dejection. There is no spectacle more dreadful than this, any day which any city passes in more melancholy. When the litter is placed, the officers loose the cords, the high-priest, with hands up towards heaven, offers up some private prayers just before the fatal minute, then takes out the prisoner, who is covered with a veil, and places her upon the steps which lead down to the cell: after this he retires with the of the priests, and when she is gone down, the steps are taken away, and the cell is covered with earth; that the place is made level with the rest of the mount.

It is said, that Numa built the temple of *Vesta*, where the perpetual fire was to be kept,² in an orbicular form, not intending to represent the figure of the earth, as that was meant by *Vesta*, but frame of the universe, in the centre of which the Pythagoreans place the element of fire,³ and give it the of *Vesta* and *Unity*. The earth they supposed not be without motion, nor situated in the of the world, but make its revolution round the sphere of fire, being neither of the valuable principal parts of the great machine. Plato, too, in his old age, reported have been of the opinion, assigning the earth a different situation from the centre, and leaving that, as the place of honour, to a nobler element.

The Pontifices were, moreover, to prescribe the form of funeral to such consulted them. Numa himself taught them upon the last offices to the dead as pollution. He instructed them to pay all due honour to the infernal gods, receiving the excellent part of us, and more particularly venerate the goddess *Libitina*, as he called her, who presides over funeral

¹ There seems to be something incredible and inconsistent in this. Of what use could provisions be to the vestal, who, when the grave was closed upon her, must expire through want of air? Or, if she could make use of those provisions, was she not at last to die of famine? Perhaps what Plutarch here calls provisions were materials for some sacrifice.

² Dionysius of Halicarnassus (l. ii.) is of

opinion, and probably he is right, Numa did build the temple of *Vesta* in a round form, to represent the figure of the earth; for by *Vesta* they meant the earth.

³ That this was the opinion of Philolaus and other Pythagoreans is well known; but Diogenes Laertius tells us, that Pythagoras himself held the earth to be the centre.

solemnities : whether he meant by her *Proserpine*, rather Venus, of the learned Romans suppose ; improperly ascribing the same divine power the our birth and of death.

likewise fixed the time of mourning, according the of the deceased. He allowed for a child that died under three years of ; and for older mourning only last many months he lived years, provided those than *The longest mourning* continue above months, after which space widows permitted marry again : but that took another husband before out, obliged by his decree to sacrifice a with calf.¹

Numa instituted several other sacred orders ; two of which I mention, the *Salii*² and *Feciales*,³ which afford particular proofs of piety. The *Feciales*, who were like the *Irenophylakes*, guardians of peace, among the Greeks, had, I believe, a expressive of their office ; for they were to act and mediate between the parties, to decide their differences by reason, not suffer till all hopes of justice lost. The Greeks call such a peace *Irne*, that puts an end to strife, not by mutual violence, but in a rational way. like manner the *feciales*, or *heralds*, often despatched to such nations had injured the Romans, to persuade them entertain more equitable sentiments : if they rejected their application, they called the gods to witness, with imprecations against themselves and their country, if their cause was just ; and so they declared war. But if the *feciales* refused their sanction, it was not for any Roman soldier, nor even for the king himself, to begin hostilities. War com-

¹ This Venus Etrusca was the same with Proserpine. was called at Delphi Venus Hyblæmbo. Plato was the Jupiter of the shades below ; and there they had their Mercury too.

² An unusual sacrifice was introduced to deter the widows from marrying again before the expiration of their mourning. Romulus's year consisting of months, when Numa afterwards added two months he did not alter the time he had before settled for mourning ; and therefore, though after that time we often meet with *Luctus annuus*, or a year's mourning, we must take it only for the old year of Romulus. The ordinary colour to express their grief, used alike by both, was black, without trimming. after the commencement of the empire, when abundance of colours came in fashion, the old primitive white grew so much into contempt, that it became peculiar to the women for their mourning. Vide PLUT. QUÆST. ROM. There were several accidents which often occasioned the of a public mourning, or sometimes a private one, the fixed time ; so

tion of a temple, the solemnity of public games or festivals, the solemn institution performed by the curies, and charging of a war made by a magistrate or a general. They likewise put their mourning habit when a father, brother, or son, returned from captivity, or when some of the family were advanced to a considerable employment.

³ The *Salii* were the guardians of the *Andia*, or twelve shields hung up the temple of Mars. They took their from their in the celebration of an annual festival instituted in memory of a miraculous shield, which, Numa pretended, down from heaven.

⁴ Dionysius of Halicarnassus finds them among the Aborigines ; and Numa is said to have borrowed the institution from the people. appointed 30 families chosen out of the most eminent families in Rome, and settled there in a college. The *pater patratus*, who made peace or denounced war, was probably one of their body selected for that purpose, because he had a and a son alive. Liv. l. i. c.

mence with their approbation, as the proper judges whether it was just, the preme magistrate to deliberate concerning the proper means of carrying it on. The great misfortunes which befell the city from the Gauls, are to have proceeded from violation of these sacred rites. For when barbarians besieging Clusium, Fabius Ambustus sent ambassador camp, with proposals of peace in favour of the besieged. But receiving a harsh answer, he thought himself released from character of ambassador, and rashly taking arms Clusians, challenged the bravest man in the Gaulish army. He proved victorious, indeed, in the combat, for he killed his adversary, and carried off spoils, but the Gauls having discovered who was, a herald to Rome to accuse Fabius bearing arms against them, contrary to good faith, declaration of. Upon this *senates* exhorted deliver him up to the Gauls, but he applied the people, and being a favourite with them, was screened from the. Soon after this the Gauls march Rome, and sacked whole city except the Capitol.

The order of priests called *Salm*, is said to have been instituted this occasion. In the eighth year of Numa's reign a pestilence prevailed Italy. Rome also felt ravages. While the people were greatly dejected, we are that a brazen buckler fell from heaven the hands of Numa. Of this he gave a very wonderful account, received from *Lygia* the muses. That the buckler was sent down for the preservation of the city, and should be kept with great care. That eleven others should be made like it as possible in size and fashion, in order, that if any persons were disposed to steal it he might not able to distinguish that which fell from heaven from the rest. He farther declared, that the place, and the meadows about it, where he frequently conversed with the muses, should be consecrated those divinities, that the which watered the ground should be sacred to of vestal virgins, daily to sprinkle and purify their temple. The immediate of the pestilence is said have affirmed the truth of this account. Numa then showed the buckler to the artists, and commanded exert all their skill for an resemblance. They all declined the attempt, pt Veturius Ilanurius, who successful in the imitation, made other eleven it, that not even Numa himself could distinguish them gave these bucklers in charge *Salm*, who did not their name, as pretend, from Salus of Samothrace or Mantinea, that taught the way of dancing in arms, but rather from the subsultive dance itself, which they along the streets, when in the month of *May* they carry the sacred bucklers through the city. On that occasion they are habited purple, girt with broad belts of brass; they wear also brazen helmets, and carry short swords, with which they strike upon the bucklers, and those sounds they keep time with their feet. They an agreeable manner, performing

from the vulgar so some of Numa's have a meaning, as, not to offer to the gods wine proceeding from a vine unpruned, sacrifice without meal,² to turn round when you worship,³ and down when you have worshipped. The first precepts seem to recommend agriculture as a part of religion the turning round in adoration as to represent the circular motion of the world. I rather think, that the temples opened towards the east, such as entered them necessarily turning their backs upon the rising sun, made a half that quarter, in honour of the god of day, and then completed the circle, well their devotions, with their faces towards the god of temple. Unless, perhaps, this change of posture may have an enigmatical meaning, like the Egyptian wheels, admonishing of the instability of every thing human, and preparing us to acquiesce and rest satisfied with whatever turns and changes the divine Being allows us. As for sitting down after a prayer, they intended an end of prayer, and of lasting happiness afterwards. They add, that the temples are divided by intervals of rest, so when business is over, they sat down in presence of the gods, that under their auspicious conduct they might begin another. Nor is this repugnant to what has been already advanced, since the lawgiver wanted to us to address the deity, not in the midst of business or hurry, but when we have leisure to do as we ought.

By this of religious discipline the people became tractable, were impressed with such a veneration of Numa's power, that they admitted many unprobable, and even fabulous tales, and thought nothing incredible or impossible which he undertook. Thus he is said to have invited many of the citizens to his table, where he took care the vessels should be mean, and the provisions plain and inelegant, but after they were seated, he told them, the goddess with whom he used to converse, was coming. Then, when a sudden the table was supplied with the costly vessels, and the table with most magnificent. But nothing can be imagined more absurd than what is related of him with Jupiter. The story is, that when Mount Aventine was not enclosed within walls, nor yet inhabited, but with flowing springs and shady groves, was frequented by demigods, Picus and Fannus. Then in other respects,

This prejudice was not only the reason why the first month was consecrated to the terrestrial deities but gave birth to a thousand superstitious practices, which in some countries are still kept up by those whom reason and religion ought to have undeceived.

The principal intention of this precept might be to wean them from sacrifices of blood, and to bring them to offer only cakes and figures of animals made of paste.

² Probably to represent the immensity of the Godhead.

³ Dionysius tells us that Numa showed these Romans all the rooms of his palace in the morning mainly furnished and without any signs of a great entertainment that he kept them with him great part of the day and when they returned to sup with him by invitation in the evening they every thing surmountingly magnificent. It is likely Numa represented the change to his friends.

like the *Satyrs*, or the race of *Titans*: but in the wonderful feats they performed by their skill in pharmacy and more resembled the *Idæi Dactylæ* (as the Greeks call them); and thus provided they roamed about Italy. They tell us, that Numa, having mixed a fountain of which they used to drink with wine and honey, surprised and caught them. Upon this, they turned themselves into many forms, and, quitting their natural figure, assumed strange and horrible appearances. But when they found they could not break or escape from the that them, they acquainted him with many of futurity and taught him a charm of thunder and lightning, composed of onions, hair, and pilchards, which used to day. Others say, these demigods not communicate the charm, but by the force of magic they brought down Jupiter from heaven. The god, resenting this Numa's hands, ordered the charm to consist of heads. Of onions, replied Numa. No, human.—Hairs, said Numa, desirous to fence against the dreadful injunction, and interrupting the god. Living, Jupiter: Pilchards, said Numa. He was instructed, it seems, by Egeria, how to manage the Jupiter away propitious, in Greek *ileos*, whence the place was called *Illicum*,³ and so the charm effected. These things, fabulous and ridiculous as they are, show how superstition, confirmed by custom, operated upon the minds of the people. As for Numa himself, he placed his confidence so entirely in God, that when one brought him word the enemy coming, he only smiled, saying, *And I am sacrificing*.

He is recorded to have been the first that built temples to *Fides*,⁴ or *Faith*, and to *Terminus*,⁴ and taught the Romans to swear by *faith*, as the greatest of oaths; which they still continue to make use of. In our times they sacrifice animals in the fields, both public and private occasions, to *Terminus*, as the god of boundaries; but formerly the offering was an inanimate one; for Numa argued that there should be no effusion of blood in the rites of a god, who

¹ Diodorus tells us from Ephorus, the *Idæi Dactylæ* originally from Mount *Idæi* in Phrygia, from whence they passed into Europe with king *Minos*. They settled first in *Samothece*, where they taught the inhabitants religious rites. *Orpheus* is thought to have been their disciple; and the first that carried a form of worship over into Greece. The *Dactylæ* are likewise said to have found out the use of iron and brass to the inhabitants of the country adjoining to Mount *Berecynthos*, and to have taught them the way of working them. For this, and many other useful discoveries, they were after their death worshipped as gods.

² This is Plutarch's account of the *Idæi* in (Fast. l. i.) Jupiter was called *Efficius* from *efficere*, to draw out, because Jupiter was drawn out of heaven on this occasion.

³ This was intended to make the Romans pay as much regard to their word as to a

contract in writing. Polybius, an excellent in fact, were their principles that Polybius gives the Romans of his time this honourable testimony:—"They are the only people that keep their word without a promise; whereas, by bail, a curse, a promise, whereas, securities, twenty promises, and as many witnesses, hinder the Greeks from attempting to do what is just, and disappoint you." No wonder, that so virtuous a people were victorious over those that were become thus degenerate and dishonest.

⁴ The *Idæi Termini* were represented by stones, which Numa caused to be placed on the borders of the Roman state, and of each man's private lands. In honour of these deities, he instituted a festival called *Terminiæ*, which was annually celebrated on 22d or 23d Feb. To remove the *Idæi Termini* was deemed a sacrilege of so heinous a nature that any man might die, with impunity, the transgressor.

■ witness of justice, and guardian of peace. It is indeed certain that ■■■■ that marked out the bounds of the Roman territory; Romulus being unwilling, by measuring out his own, ■ show how much ■ encroached upon the neighbouring coun- ■■■■; for bounds, if preserved, are barriers against lawless power; ■ violated, they are evidences of injustice. The territory of the city ■■ by no ■■ extensive ■ first, but Romulus added to it a considerable district gained by the sword. All this Numa divided among the indigent citizens, that poverty might ■ drive ■ to rapine; and, ■ he turned the application of the people to agriculture, their temper ■■ subdued together with the ground. For no occupation implants ■ speedy ■ and ■ effectual ■ love of peace ■ a country life, where there remains indeed courage and bravery sufficient ■ defend their property, but the temptations ■ injustice and avarice ■■ removed. Numa, therefore, introduced among his subjects an attachment ■ husbandry as ■ charm of peace, and contriving a business for them, which would rather form their ■■ simplicity, than raise them to opulence, *he divided the country into several portions, which he called pagi, or boroughs, and over each of them ■ governor or overseer.* Sometimes also he inspected them himself, and judging of the disposition of the people by the condition of their farms, some he advanced to posts of honour and trust; and, on the other hand, he reprimanded and endeavoured ■ ref■■ the negligent and the idle.¹

But the most admired of all his institutions is his distribution of the citizens into companies, according to their arts and trades. For the city, consisting of two nations, or rather factions, who were by ■ means willing to unite, or to blot out the remembrance of their original difference, but maintained perpetual contests and party quarrels, he took the same method with them ■ is used to incorporate hard and solid bodies, which, while entire, will ■ mix at all, but when reduced to powder, unite with ■■. To attain this purpose, he divided the whole multitude into small bodies, who gaining ■■ distinctions, lost by degrees the great and original one, in consequence of their being thus broken into ■ many parts. This distribution ■■ made according to the several arts ■ trader of musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, braziers, and potters. He collected the other artificers also into companies, who had their respective halls, courts, and religious ceremonies, peculiar to each society. By these ■■ he first took away the distinction of Sabines and Romans, subjects of Tatius, ■■ subjects of Romulus, both name and thing; ■ very separation into parts mixing and incorporating the whole together.

He is celebrated also, in his political capacity, for correcting the law which empowered fathers to sell their children,² excepting such

¹ ■ neg■■ ■■■■ of a farm was ■■ amongst the Romans as a universal problem; a fault that ■■ the chastisement of the censor.

² Romulus had allowed fathers greater

power over their children ■■■■ and over their slaves. For a ■■■■ sell his slave but once; whereas a father could sell his son three times, let ■■ be of what age or condition soever.

as married by their father's command or consent; for ■■■ reckoned ■■■ great ■■■■p that ■ woman should marry a ■■■■ free, and then live with ■■■■

■■■ attempted ■■■ reformation of the calendar, too, which he executed with some degree of skill, though ■■■ with absolute exact- ■■■ In the reign of Romulus, ■■■ neither ■■■■ nor order, ■■■ months consisting of fewer than 20 days,¹ while ■■■■ stretched to 35, and others even ■■■ more. They had no idea of the difference between the annual course of the ■■■ and that of ■■■ moon and only laid down this position, that the year consisted of 360 days. Numa, then, observing that there ■■■ a difference of 11 days, ■■■ days making up the lunar year, and 365 the solar, doubled those 11 days, and inserted them as an intercalary month after that of February, every other year. This additional month was called by the Romans *Mercedinus*. But this amendment of ■■■ irregularity afterwards required ■ farther amendment. He likewise altered the order of the months, making March the 3d, which was the 1st; January 1st, which was the 11th of Romulus; and February the 2d, which was the 12th and last. Many, however, assert ■■■ the two months of January and February were added by Numa, whereas before they had reckoned but ten months in the year, as some barbarous nations had but three; and, among the Greeks, the Arcadians four, and the Acarnanians six. The Egyptian year, they tell us, at first, consisted only of one month, afterwards of four. And, therefore, though they inhabit a new country, they seem to be a very ancient people, and reckon in their chronology ■■■ incredible number of years, because they account months for years.²

¹ Macrobius ■■■■ us (Saturnal. l. i. c. 18), that ■■■■ settled the number of ■■■■ equality, ■■■■ to Quintilis, and October 31 days each; ■■■ April, June, -octilis, November, ■■■■, 30 making up in all 304 days. Numa was better acquainted with the celestial motions; and, therefore, in the first place, added the two months of January and February. By the way, it is probable, the reader will think, that neither Romulus, nor any other man, could be so ignorant as to make the lunar year consist of 301 days; ■■■■ reckoned by lunar ■■■■ consequently by the lunar ■■■■ originally, ■■■■, from their calendar, ■■■■. To compose these ■■■■ months, ■■■■ to the 301, in order to ■■■■ answer to the ■■■■ of the moon. Beside this, he added ■■■■ between ■■■■ solar ■■■■ to ■■■ 17 days; and, to remove the inequality, ■■■■ those days after every two ■■■■ adding an ■■■■ month after February; ■■■■ he ■■■■ ■■■■; ■■■■ to the life of Julius Cæsar ■■■■; ■■■■ speaks of certain days,

which he calls the *Mercedonii*, ■■■■ they were appointed ■■■ the payment ■■■■ domestics, which is all ■■■ know ■■■ the word. As Numa was sensible that the solar year consisted of 365 day ■■■■ six hours, and that the six hours made a whole day ■■■ four years, he computed ■■■■ that the month *Mercedinus* after every four years should consist of 21 days; ■■■■ the ■■■■ of these intercalations being left to the priests, ■■■■ ■■■■ left out the intercalary day ■■■■ month as they fancied it lucky or unlucky; ■■■■ ■■■■ means created ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ festivals ■■■■ process ■■■■ time, to keep at a season quite contrary to what they ■■■■ been formerly. ■■■■ calendar had gained ■■■■ : ■■■■ the days of Julius Cæsar, and, therefore, wanted a great reformation again.

² To suppose ■■■■ Egyptians ■■■■ months for ■■■■ does ■■■■ bring computation pretty near ■■■■, respect to the time ■■■■ of ■■■■ world; for they reckoned a succession of kings for the space of 30,000 years. ■■■■ that ■■■■ position would ■■■■ reigns of kings unreasonably short. Besides, the writers say, the Egyptians were the first

That the year contained at first only, and not twelve, we have a proof in the name of the last; for they still call December, or the tenth month; and that March the first is also evident, because the fifth from it was called *Quintilis*, the sixth *Sextilis*, and the rest in their order. If January and February had then been placed before March, the month *Quintilis* would have been the seventh in name, but the seventh in reckoning. Besides, it is reasonable to conclude, that the month of March, dedicated by Romulus the god *Mars*, should stand first, and April second, which has its name from *Aphrodite* or *Venus*, for in this month sacrifices to that goddess, and the first of it, of myrtle on their heads. Some, however, say, April derives its name from *Aphrodite*; but, as the very sound of the term to dictate, from *aperire*, or *open*, the spring having then attained its vigour, opens and unfolds the blossoms of plants. The month, which is May, called from *Maia*, the mother of Mercury; for to him it is sacred. June is so styled from the youthful of the year. Some again inform that these two months borrow their names from the two ages, *old* and *young*; for the older men called *maiores*, and the younger *juniores*. The succeeding months were denominated according to their order, of fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth. Afterwards *Quintilis* was called July, in honour of Julius Cæsar, who overcame Pompey; and *Sextilis* August, from Augustus the second emperor of Rome. To the following months Domitian gave his two names of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*, which lasted but a little while, for when he slain they resumed their old names, September and October. The two last were the only that all along retained the original appellation which they had from their order. February, which was either transposed by Numa, the month of purification, for the signifies; and then are celebrated for the purifying of trees, and procuring a blessing their fruits; then also the feast of the *Lupercalia* is held, whose ceremonies greatly resemble those of a lustration. January, the first month, is so named from *Janus*. And Numa have taken away the precedency from March, which is denominated from the god of war, with a design to show his preference of the political virtues to martial. For this *Janus*, the antiquity, whether a demigod a king, being remarkable for his political abilities and his cultivation of society, reclaimed from their rude and savage manners; is, therefore, represented with two faces, having altered the former state of the world, and given quite a new to it. He has also a temple at Rome with two gates, which they call the gates of war. It is the custom for this temple to stand open in the time

that began to compute by years, and that the year consist of twelve months. Their boasted antiquity must, therefore, be imputed to their the fabulous part of their history.

back. As to Flutarch's saying that Egypt was a new country, it is strange that such a notion could ever be entertained by a man of his knowledge.

of war, and in time of peace. The latter was seldom as the empire been generally engaged account of its great extent, and its having to contend with many surrounding barbarous nations. has, therefore, been shut only in reign of Augustus Cæsar,¹ when he had conquered Antony; and before, in the consulate of Marcus Attilius² and Titus Manlius, a little while; for, a new breaking out, it soon opened again. In Numa's reign, however, it not opened for day, but stood constantly shut during the space of 43 years, while uninterrupted peace reigned in every quarter. Not only the people Rome softened and humanised by the justice and mildness king, but circumjacent cities, breathing, it were, same salutary and delightful air, began change their behaviour. Like the Romans, they became desirous of peace and good laws, of cultivating the ground, educating their children in tranquillity, paying their homage to the gods. Italy then up with festivals and sacrifices, games and entertainments; people, without any apprehensions of danger, mixed in a friendly manner, and treated each other with mutual hospitality; the love of virtue and justice, as from the of Numa's wisdom, gently flowing upon all, and moving with the composure of heart. Even the hyperbolical expressions of the poets short of describing the happiness of those days:—

*Secure Arctas spread her slender toils
The broad buckler; rest consumed
Vengeful swords and oars far-gleaming appear;
No more the trump of war swells its hoarse thrush,
Nor rots the eyelids of their genial slumber.*³

We have no account of either war or insurrection in the during Numa's reign. Nay, he experienced neither enmity envy; ambition dictate either open or private attempts against. Whether it were the fear of the gods, who took so pious a man under their protection, of his virtue, the singular good fortune of times, that kept the manners of men pure and unsullied,—he was an illustrious instance of that truth which Plato several ages after ventured deliver concerning government:—*That the only sure prospect of deliverance from evils of life will be, when the divine Providence shall so order it, the regal power, invested in a prince who has the of a philosopher, shall render virtue triumphant vice.* A man of such wisdom is not only happy in himself, but contributes, by his instructions, to the happiness of others. There in truth, need either of force or to direct

¹ Augustus shut the temple of Janus three several times; one of which was in the year of Rome 750, before the birth of our Saviour, according to Jewish's prophecy, that all the world should be blessed with peace, when the Prince of Peace was born. This temple was also shut by Vespasian after his triumph over the Jews.

² Instead of Marcus we should read Caius Attilius. Titus Manlius, his colleague, shut the temple of Janus at the conclusion of the first Punic war.

³ Plutarch excellent verses of Bacchylides praise of given us by

multitude; for when they see virtue exemplified in so glorious a pattern as the life of their prince, they become wise of themselves, and endeavour by friendship and unanimity, by a strict regard to justice and temperance, to form themselves to a happy life. This is the end of government; and he is most worthy of the royal sceptre who regulates the lives and dispositions of his subjects in such a manner. No one was more sensible of this than Numa.

Numa's wives and children, there were great contradictions among the historians. For some say, he had no wife but Tatia, any but his daughter, named Pompilia. Others, beside his daughter, give him a number of four sons, Pompon, Pinus, Calpus, and the Pinarrii; every one of which left him honourable posterity, the Pomponii being descended from Pompon, the Pinarrii from Pinus, the Calpurnii from Calpus, and the Mamercii from Mamercus. These were surnamed *Regis* or *kings*.¹ But a third set of writers ascribe the former of forging these genealogies from Numa, in order to ingratiate themselves with particular families. And they tell us that Pompilia was not the daughter of Tatia, but of Lucretia, another wife, whom he married after he ascended the throne. All, however, agree that Pompilia was married to Marcius, son of that Marcius who persuaded Numa to accept the crown; for he followed him to Rome, where he was enrolled a senator, and, after Numa's death, was competitor with Tullus Hostilius for the throne; but, failing in the enterprise, he starved himself to death. His son Marcius, husband to Pompilia, remained in Rome, and had a son named Ancus Marcius, who reigned after Tullus Hostilius. This son is said to have been but five years old at the death of Numa.

Numa was carried off by no sudden or acute distemper; but, as Piso relates, wasted away insensibly with old age and a gentle decline. He was some few years above eighty when he died.

The neighbouring nations that were in friendship and alliance with Rome strove to make the honours of his burial equal to the happiness of his life, attending with him and other public offerings. The Romans carried the bier, and the ministers of the gods walked in procession. The rest of the people, with the women and children, crowded the funeral; not as if they were attending the interment of an aged king, but as if they had lost one of their beloved relations in the bloom of life; for they followed him with tears and lamentations. They did not burn the body,² because (as

¹ *Regis* was the surname of the *Alfilienses* or *Marciani*, but not of the *Pomponiani*, the *Pinarrii*, or *Mamerciani*. The *Pinarrii* were descended from a family who were priests of Hercules, and more ancient than the times of Numa.

² In the most ancient times they committed the bodies of the dead to the ground, as appears from the history of the patriarchs. But the Egyptians, from

a vain desire of preserving their bodies from corruption after death, had them embalmed; persons of condition with rich spices, and even the poor had theirs preserved with salt. The Greeks, to obviate the inconveniences that might possibly happen from corruption, burned the bodies of the dead; but Pliny tells us that Numa was the first Roman whose body was burned. When Paganism was

we are told) himself forbade it; but they made two stone coffins, buried them under the Janiculum; one containing his body, and the other the sacred books which he had written, in the temple of the Grecian legislators wrote their tables of laws.

Numa taken care, however, in his lifetime, to instruct the priests in all that those books contained, and to impress both on their practice on their memories. He then ordered them to be buried with him, persuaded that such mysteries could not safely be in writing. Influenced by the same reasoning, it is said, the Pythagoreans did not commit their precepts to writing, but entrusted them to the memories of such as they thought worthy of so great a deposit. And when they happened to communicate to an unworthy person their abstruse problems in geometry, they gave out that the gods threatened to avenge his profaneness and impiety with great and signal calamity. Those, therefore, may be well imagined who endeavour to prove by so many instances that Numa was acquainted with Pythagoras. Valerius Antias relates, that there were twelve books written in Latin concerning religion, and twelve more of philosophy, in Greek, buried in that coffin. But 400 years after, when Publius Cornelius and Marcus Æmilius were consuls, a prodigious fall of rain having washed away the earth that covered the coffins, and the lids falling off, of them appeared entirely empty, without the least remains of the body; in the other were found. Petilius, then Prætor, having examined them, made his report upon oath to the senate, that it appeared to him inconsistent both with justice and religion, to make them public; in consequence of which all the volumes were carried into the Comitium, and burned.

Glory follows in the train of great men, and increases after their death; for envy does not long survive them; nay, it sometimes before them. The misfortunes, indeed, of the succeeding kings added lustre to the character of Numa. Of the five that came after him, the last was driven from the throne, and lived long in exile; and of the other four, not one died a natural death. Three were traitorously slain. As for Tullus Hostilius, who reigned after Numa, he ridiculed and despised many of his best institutions, particularly his religious ones, as effeminate, and tending to in-

abolished, the burning of dead bodies ceased with it; and the belief of the resurrection, Christians began to bury the dead with due care and honour to the earth, to repose there till that great event.

Numa probably wrote 800; for this happened in the year of Rome 678. "Omnis Terentius," says Varro [aj. 4 August, de 4e. Decl.] "had a piece of ground at the Janiculum; his husbandman, while he was accidentally running over his tomb, found up some of his books wherein he gave his reasons for establishing the religion of the Romans as he had received it from the prætor, and the

prætor to the senate, who, after having read his frivolous reasons for his establishment, decreed that the books should be destroyed, in pursuance of the same intentions. It was a decree, that the senate should burn them into the fire." though the reason for the religion he established might be trivial enough, that was not the chief reason for suppressing them. The real, at least the principal, reason was the many new superstitions, equally trivial, which the Romans had introduced, and the worship which they paid to images, contrary to Numa's establishment.

action ; for his view was to dispose the people to war. He did not, however, abide by his irreligious opinions, but falling into a severe and complicated sickness, he changed them for a superstition,¹ very different from Numa's piety ; others, too, infected with the same principles, when they saw the death of [] is [] have happened by lightning.²

PUBLICOLA.

PUBLICOLA [] called by the Roman people, [] acknowledgment [] his merit ; for [] paternal [] Valerius. He [] descended from that ancient Valerius,³ who [] principal author of the union between the Romans and the Sabines. For he it was that most effectually persuaded the [] kings to come to a conference, and to settle their differences. From this man our Valerius deriving his extraction, distinguished himself by [] eloquence and riches,⁴ [] while Rome [] yet under kingly government. His eloquence [] employed with great propriety and spirit in defence of justice, and his riches in relieving the necessitous. Hence [] natural to conclude, that if the government [] become republican,⁵ his station [] it would [] be one of the []

When Tarquin *the proud*, who had made his way [] the throne by the violation of all rights⁶ divine and human, and then exercised his power [] he acquired it, when, like an oppressor and [] tyrant, he became [] odious and insupportable to the people, they took occasion to revolt, from the unhappy fate of Lucretia, who killed herself on account of the rape committed upon her by the son of Tarquin.⁷ Lucius Brutus, meditating [] change of government, applied [] Valerius first, and with his powerful assistance expelled

¹ None are so superstitious in distress as those who in their prosperity have laughed at religion. The famous Canon Voetius was no less remarkable for the greatness of his fears than he was for the firmness of his faith.

² The palace of Tullus Hostilius was struck down by lightning ; and he, with his wife and children, perished in the flames. Though some historians say that Ancus Marcius, who, as the grandson of Numa, expected to succeed to the crown, took the opportunity of the storm to assassinate the king.

³ The first of his family, who settled at Rome, was Valerius Volturnus, a Sabine ; or, as Festus and the *fasti* Capitolini call him, Valerius.

⁴ Plutarch, by this, would insinuate that arbitrary power is no friend to eloquence. And undoubtedly the want of liberty does depress the spirit, and re-

strain the force of genius ; whereas, in republics and limited monarchies, full scope is given, as well as many occasions afforded, to the exercise of oratory.

⁵ Governments, as [] as other things, pushed to excessive lengths, often change to the contrary extreme.

⁶ He made use of the body of his father-in-law, Servius Tullius, whom he had murdered, as a step to the []

⁷ Livy tells us, that she desired her father and husband to meet her at her own house. With her father Lucretius came Publius Valerius, afterwards Publicola, and with her husband Lucius Junius Brutus, and many other Romans of distinction. To them she disclosed in few words the whole matter, declared her firm resolution not to outlive the loss of her honour, and conjured them not to let the crime of Sextus Tarquinius go unpunished. Then she bewails, notwithstanding

the king and his family. Indeed, while the people seemed inclined to give one person the chief command, and to set a general instead of a king, Valerius acquiesced, and willingly yielded the first place to Brutus, under whose auspices the republic commenced. When he appeared that they would not bear the thought of being governed by a single person, when they seemed ready to obey divided authority, he indeed proposed and demanded two consuls at the head of the state, then he offered himself a candidate for that high office, together with Brutus, and lost the election. For, contrary to Brutus's desire, Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, appointed his colleague. Not that he was more worthy or able man than Valerius; but those that had the greatest interest in the state, apprehensive of the ambition of the Tarquins, who made great efforts without, and endeavoured to soften the minds of the citizens within, were anxious to be commanded by the implacable enemy of that house.

Valerius, taking it ill that it should be supposed he would forsake his country, because he had received no particular injury from the tyrants, withdrew from the senate, forebore to attend the forum, and would not intermeddle in the least with public affairs. So that many began to express their fear and concern, lest through his refusal he should join the late royal family, and overturn the commonwealth, which, as yet, was but tottering. Brutus was not without his suspicions of some others, and therefore determined to bring the consuls to their oath on a solemn day of sacrifice, which he appointed for that purpose. On this occasion, Valerius went with great alacrity into the forum, and was the first to make oath that he would give up the least point, or hearken to any terms of agreement with Tarquin, but would defend the Roman liberty with his sword; which afforded great satisfaction to the senate and strengthened the hands of the consuls.¹ His actions confirmed the sincerity of his oath. For ambassadors came from Tarquin with letters calculated to gain the people, and instructions to treat with them in such a manner as might be likely to corrupt them; as they were to tell them from the king that he had said adieu to his high notions, and was willing to listen to very

their endeavours to disengage her from it, plunged a dagger in her breast. While the rest were filled with grief and consternation, Brutus, who, till that time, had feigned himself an idiot, to prevent his being obnoxious to the tyrant, took the bloody sword, and showing it to the assembly, said, "I swear by this sword, which was once pure, and which nothing but the detestable villany of Tarquin could have polluted, that I will pursue L. Tarquinus the proud, his wicked wife, and his children, with fire and sword; nor will ever suffer any of that family, or any other whatsoever, to reign at Rome. Ye Gods! I call you to witness this my oath." At these words, he presented the

dagger to Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and the rest of the company; and engaged them to take the same oath.

¹ Thus ended the regal state of Rome, 244 years, according to the common computation, after the building of the city. But Sir Isaac Newton observes, that this date scarce is ascribed to the course of time, for we meet with no instance in all history, that any reign was certain, wherein seven kings, most of whom were slain, reigned so long a time in continual succession. By the reigns, therefore, of those kings, and those of the kings of Alba, he places the building of Rome, not in the seventh, but in the thirty-eighth year.

moderate conditions. Though [] consuls [] of [] they should [] admitted to confer with the people, Valerius [] it, but opposed it strongly, insisting that [] pretext for [] should be given [] needy multitude, who might [] sider war [] greater grievance than tyranny itself.

After this, ambassadors came to declare [] he would [] up [] thoughts of the kingdom, and [] down his arms, if they [] ould but [] him his [] and other effects, that his family and friends might not want [] subsistence in their exile. Many persons inclined [] indulge [] this, and Collatinus [] particular agreed to it, but Brutus,¹ a [] of great spirit and quick resentment, [] into the *forum*, and called his colleague traitor, [] being disposed to grant the enemy the means to carry [] the war, and recover the crown, when indeed [] would [] too much to grant [] bread [] place where they might retire to. The [] being assembled on [] occasion, C. Minutius, [] private man, was [] who delivered his [] them, advising Brutus, and exhorting the Romans, [] take [] that the treasures should fight [] them against [] tyrants, rather than for the tyrants against *them*. The Romans, however, were of opinion that, while they obtained that liberty for which they began the war, they should not reject the offered peace for the sake of the treasures, but [] them [] together with the tyrants.

In [] meantime, Tarquinius made but small account of his effects, but the demand of them furnished a pretence for sounding the people and for preparing a scene of treachery. This was carried on by the ambassadors, under pretence of taking care of the effects, part of which they said they were to sell, part [] collect, and [] rest to send away. Thus they gained time to corrupt two of the best families in Rome, that of the Aquili, in which were three [], and the Vitelli, among whom []. All these, by the mother's side, [] nephews to Collatinus the consul. The Vitelli were likewise allied to Brutus, for their sister was his wife, and [] had several children by her, ² two of whom, just arrived [] years of maturity, and being of their kindred and acquaintance, the Vitellii drew in, and [] persuaded to [] in [] conspiracy, insinuating that by this [] they might marry into the family [] Tarquins, share in their royal prospects, and, [] the [] time, [] free from the yoke of [] stupid and cruel father. For, his inflexibility in punishing criminals, they called cruelty, and [] stupidity, which he had used a long time as [] cloak [] shelter [].

¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus on the contrary, says the affair was settled in the senate with great moderation, and when [] not be settled there whether they should prefer honour or profit it was [] to the people who, to their immortal praise, carried it, by a [] of one vote for honour.

² Dionysius and Livy make mention of

no more than two, but Plutarch agrees with those who say that Brutus had more and that Marcus Brutus, who Caesar was descended from, one of [] Orators is amongst those that hold the latter opinion, or else he pretended to be so, to make the cause and person of Brutus more popular.

from ■■■ bloody designs of the tyrants, ■■■ procured ■■■ ■■ name of Brutus,¹ which ■■■ refused ■■■ ■■ known by afterwards.

The you ■■■ thus engaged were brought to confer with ■■■ Aquilii; and all agreed to take a great and horrible oath, by drinking together ■■■ the blood,² and tasting ■■■ entrails of a man sacrificed for that purpose. ■■■ ceremony was performed in the house of ■■■ Aquilii; and ■■■ room chosen for it (as it ■■■ natural to suppose) ■■■ dark and retired. But a slave, named Vindicius, lurked ■■■ undiscovered. ■■■ that ■■■ had placed himself in ■■■ room by design; nor had he any suspicion of what ■■■ going ■■■ ■■■ acted; but happening ■■■ be there, and perceiving with what ■■■ and concern they entered, he stopped short for ■■■ of being seen, and hid ■■■ behind ■■■ chest; yet ■■■ that he could see what ■■■ done, and hear what ■■■ resolved upon. They came ■■■ a resolution ■■■ kill the consuls; and having written letters ■■■ signify as much ■■■ Tarquin, they gave ■■■ to the ambassadors, ■■■ ■■■ were guests ■■■ the Aquilii, and present ■■■ the conspiracy.

When the affair ■■■ over they withdrew, and Vindicius, stealing ■■■ his lurking hole, ■■■ determined what ■■■ do, but disturbed with doubts. He thought it shocking, ■■■ indeed it was, ■■■ accuse the sons of the most horrid crimes ■■■ their father Brutus, or the nephews to their uncle Collatinus; and it did ■■■ presently occur ■■■ him that any private Roman was fit to be trusted with so important ■■■ secret. On the other hand, he ■■■ so much tormented with the knowledge of such an abominable ■■■, that he could do anything rather than conceal it. At length, induced by the public spirit and humanity of Valerius, ■■■ bethought himself of applying ■■■ him, a man easy of access and willing to be consulted by ■■■ necessitous, whose house was always open, and who never refused to hear the petitions ■■■ of the ■■■ of the people.

Accordingly, Vindicius coming, and discovering ■■■ him the whole in the presence of his brother Marcus and his wife; Valerius, astonished and terrified ■■■ the plot, would ■■■ let ■■■ ■■■, but shut him up in the room, and left ■■■ wife to watch the door. Then he ordered his brother ■■■ surround the late king's palace, to seize the letters, ■■■ possible, and ■■■ the ■■■; ■■■ himself, with many clients and friends whom he always ■■■ about him, and a numerous retinue of servants, went to the house of ■■■ Aquilii. As they ■■■ gone out, and no ■■■ expected him, ■■■ forced the doors, and found the letters in the ambassadors' room. ■■■ he ■■■ thus employed, the Aquilii ■■■ home in great haste, ■■■ engaged with him at the door, endeavouring ■■■ the letters from him. ■■■ Valerius and his party repelled ■■■ attack, ■■■ twisting their gowns about their necks, after much struggling ■■■ both sides, dragged them with great difficulty through ■■■ ■■■ into the forum. Marcus Valerius had the same success ■■■ the

¹ Tarquin had just ■■■ of ■■■ to death.

² They thought such a horrible sacrifice

would oblige every ■■■ of the conspiracy to inviolable secrecy. Collatinus put the same in practice afterwards.

royal palace, where he seized letters, ready conveyed away among the goods, on what of king's he could find, and had them also into the *forum*.

When the consuls put stop to the tumult, Vindicius was produced by order of Valerius; and accusation being lodged, letters were read, which the traitors not the contradict. A melancholy stillness reigned among the; but a few, willing favour Brutus, mentioned banishment. The Collatinus, silence of Valerius, gave hopes of mercy. But Brutus called upon each of his by name, said, *You, Titus, and you Valerius, why do you not make your defence against charge?* After they have been thus questioned three several times, and made, he turned to the *lictors*, said, *Yours is the part remains.* The *lictors* immediately laid hold on you, stripped them of their garments, and, having hand behind them, flogged them severely with their rods. And though others turned their eyes aside, unable endure the spectacle, yet it is that Brutus neither looked another way, nor suffered pity in least to smooth his stern and angry countenance, regarding his sons as they suffered with threatening aspect, till they were extended on the ground, and their heads cut off with the axe. Then he departed, leaving the rest to his colleague. This was an action which it is not easy to praise or condemn with propriety. For either the excess of virtue raised his soul above influence of the passions, or else the excess of resentment depressed it into insensibility. the nor the other was natural, or suitable, the human faculties, but either divine or brutal. It is the equitable, however, that our judgment should give its sanction to the glory of this great man, than that our weakness should incline us to doubt of his virtue. For Romans do not look upon it as glorious a work, for have built the city, for Brutus to have founded and the commonwealth.

After Brutus had left the tribunal, the thought of what done involved the in astonishment, horror, and silence. But the easiness and forbearance of Collatinus gave fresh spirits to Aquilius, they begged time make their defence, and desired that their slave Vindicius might be restored to them, and not remain with their. The consul inclined grant their request, and thereupon to dismiss the assembly; but Valerius would neither suffer the slave taken from among the crowd, people to dismiss the traitors and withdraw. At he criminals himself, and called for Brutus, exclaiming that Collatinus acted unworthily, in laying his colleague under the hard necessity

1 The name of Brutus's second son was not Valerius, but Tiberius.

2 Livy gives a Brutus's behaviour. *Quam tunc animi tenuis atque et os ejus, quicquid erat, et oculus*

publico perire ministerium. There could not be a more striking spectacle than the of Brutus, for anger sat on his dignity, and he could bear no father, though he supported the magistracy. Liv. lib. 2. cap. 8.

of putting **sons** death, **then** inclining **gratify** the women by releasing the betrayers **enemies** of their country. Collatinus, upon this, losing **patience**, commanded Vindicius **away**; the lictors made way through the crowd, seized **man**, and **to** blows with **endeavoured** **people**. The friends of Valerius stood upon their defence, **cried** for Brutus. Brutus returned; and silence **made**, he said, *It was enough for him to give judgment upon his own sons; for rest, he left them to the sentence of the people, who were free; and any one that chose it might plead before* **They** did not, however, wait for pleadings, but immediately put **to** the vote, with one voice condemned them to die; and the traitors **beheaded**. Collatinus, it seems, **somewhat** **pected** before, **of** his near relation to the royal family, **of** his **was** obnoxious **the** people, for they abhorred the very **of** Tarquin. **this** occasion **provoked** **beyond** expression; and therefore he voluntarily resigned **consulship**, and retired from the city. A new election consequently **held**, and Valerius declared consul with great honour, **proper** mark of gratitude for his patriotic zeal. As he was of opinion that Vindicius should have his share of the reward, *he procured a decree of the people that the freedom of the city should be given him, which was conferred on a slave before, and that he should be enrolled in what tribe he pleased, and give his suffrage with it. As for other freedmen, Appius, wanting to make himself popular, procured them a right of voting, long after. The act of enfranchising a slave is to this day called Vindicta, from this Vindicius.*

The next step that was taken was to give up the goods of the Tarquins to be plundered; and their palace and other houses were levelled with the ground. The pleasantest part of the Campus Martius had been **their** possession, and this was **consecrated** **the** god Mars.¹ It happened **be** the time of harvest, and **sheaves** then lay upon the ground; but **it** **consecrated**, they thought it not lawful **thresh** the corn, **make** **of** it; **great** number of hands, therefore, took it up in baskets, and threw it into the river. The trees were also cut down and thrown in after it, and the ground left entirely without fruit **product**, for **service** of the god.² A great quantity of different **of** things being thus thrown **together**, they **carried** **by** the current, but only **shallows** where the first heaps had stopped. Finding no farther **every** thing **there**, and the whole **bound** still faster by the river; for that washed down to it a

¹ Tarquinius, the son of Egerius and nephew of Tarquin Priscus, was called Collatinus, from Collatia, of which he was governor. Tarquinius Superbus, and Egerius, the father of Collatinus, were first cousins.

² Plutarch should have said re-conse-

³ For it was considered that in the time of Romulus, as appears by his laws. But the Tarquins had sacrilegiously converted it to their own use.

⁴ A field so kept was very properly dedicated to the service of the god of war who lays waste all before him.

deal of mud, only added to the mass, but served to it; the current, far from dissolving it, by its gentle pressure, gave it the greater firmness. The bulk and solidity of this mass received continual additions, most of what brought down by the Tiber settling there. It was now an island sacred to religious uses;¹ several porticos have been built upon it, called in Latin, *Inter duos pontes*,² the bridges. Some say, however, that this happened on the dedication of Tarquin's field, but some ages after, when Tarquinia, a vestal, gave another adjacent field to the public; for which she was honoured with great privileges, particularly that of giving her testimony in court, which she refused all other women; they gave her liberty to marry, but she not accept it. This account, though seemingly fabulous, which give of the

Tarquin despairing to reascend the throne by stratagem, applied to the Tuscans, who him a kind reception, and prepared to conduct back with a great army. The consuls Roman forces against them; and the two armies were drawn up in certain consecrated parcels of ground, the one called the Arsan grove, the other the Æsuvian meadow. When they came to charge, Aruns, the son of Tarquin, and Brutus the Roman consul, met each other, not by accident, but design; animated by hatred and ment, the one against a tyrant and enemy of his country, the other to revenge his banishment, they spurred their horses to their encounter. As they engaged rather with fury than conduct, they open, and fell by each other's hand. The battle, whose onset was dreadful, had not a milder conclusion; carnage was prodigious, and equal on both sides, till length the armies were separated by a storm.

Valerius was in great perplexity, as he knew not which side the victory, and found men as much dismayed the sight of their own dead, as animated by the loss of the enemy. great, indeed, slaughter, that it could not be distinguished who advantage; and each army having a near view of their own loss, and only guessing at of the enemy, inclined think themselves vanquished, rather than victorious. When night came on (such a night might imagine after so bloody a day), and both camps were hushed in silence and repose, it is said that the grove shook, a loud voice proceeding from it declared, that the Tuscans had lost one man more than the Romans. The voice undoubtedly divine; for immediately upon the Romans

¹ Livy says against the force of the current by jettest.

² The Fabrician bridge joined it to the city on the side of the capitol, and the Cælian bridge on the side of the Janiculum gate.

³ Brutus is reckoned among the most illustrious heroes. restored liberty to his country, secured it with the

blood of his own sons, and died in defending it against a tyrant. The Romans afterwards erected his statue in the capitol, where it was placed in the front of the kings of Rome, with a naked sword in his hand.

⁴ It was said to be the voice of the god Pan.

recovered their spirits, and the field rang with acclamations ; the Tuscans, struck with fear and confusion, deserted their camp and of them dispersed. As those remained, who quite 5000, the Romans took them prisoners, and plundered the camp. When dead were numbered, there on the side of the Tuscans 11,300, and on that of the Romans as many excepting . This battle is said to have fought on the last of February. *Valerius honoured with a triumph, and was the first consul entry in a chariot and four.* The rendered the spectacle glorious venerable, invidious, and (as some would have it) grievous to the Romans ; for, had been the case, the would have been zealously kept up, nor would the ambition to attain a triumph have lasted so many ages. *The people were pleased, too, honours paid by Valerius to the remains of his colleague, his burying him with much pomp, and pronouncing his funeral oration ; which last Romans generally approved, or rather were so much charmed with, that afterwards all the great and illustrious men among them, upon their decease, their encomium from persons of distinction.*¹ This funeral oration more ancient than any among the Greeks ; unless allow what Anaximenes, the orator, relates, that Solon the author of this custom.

But that which offended exasperated the people was this : Brutus, whom they considered as the father of liberty, would rule alone, but took himself a first and a second colleague ; yet *this (said they) grasps the whole authority, and is not the successor to the consulship of Brutus, to which he has right, but to the tyranny of Tarquin. To what purpose is it in words to extol Brutus, and in deeds to imitate Tarquin, while he has all the rods and carried before him alone, and sets out from a house more stately than the royal palace which he demolished ?* It is true, Valerius did live in a house lofty and superb, the Velian eminence, which commanded the forum and every thing that passed ; and as the avenues difficult, and the ascent steep, when he came down from it his appearance was very pompous, and resembled the of a king rather than that of a consul. But he showed of what consequence it is for persons in high stations and authority to have their open truth and good advice, rather than flattery. For when his friends informed that people thought he taking wrong steps, he made no dispute, expressed any resentment, but hastily assented a number of work whilst it was yet night, who demolished his house entirely ; that when the Romans the morning assembled look upon it, they admired and adored his magnanimity ; but, time,

¹ *Funerary orations were not in use among the Greeks till the battle of Marathon, which was sixteen after the death of Brutus. The hero that fell so gloriously there did indeed well deserve such eulogiums ; and the Greeks never*

granted them but to those that were slain fighting their country. In this respect the custom of the Romans more equitable ; for they honoured with those public marks of regard such as had served their country in any capacity.

were so grand so magnificent an edifice ruined by the envy of the citizens, as they would have lamented the death of who had fallen as suddenly, and by the who had given them pain, too, see consul, who had no home, obliged shelter in another man's house. For Valerius entertained by friends, till the people provided a piece of ground for him, a stately house built in place where the temple of *Victory* stands.¹

Desirous to make high office, as well as himself, rather agreeable to the people, he ordered axes to be taken away from rods, and that, whenever he the great assembly, rods should be unveiled in respect citizens, if the supreme power lodged them.² A which the consuls observe to this day. The people were not aware that by this he did less his power (they imagined), but only by such an instance of moderation obviated and cut off all occasion of envy; and gained as much authority to his person as he seemed take from his office; for they all submitted to him with pleasure, and were so much charmed with his behaviour, that they gave him the name of *Publicola*, that is, the *People's respectful friend*. In this both his former names were lost; and this we shall make use of in the sequel of his life.

Indeed, it was his due; for he permitted all to sue for the consulship.³ Yet before a colleague was appointed him, he knew not what might happen, and was apprehensive of some opposition from ignorance or envy, while had power he use of it to establish some of the most useful and excellent regulations. In the first place, he up the senate, which then was very thin; several of that august body having been put to death by Tarquin before, and others fallen in the late battle. He is said have made up the number of 164. In the place, he caused certain laws to be enacted, which greatly augmented power of the people. The first gave liberty of appeal from the consuls the people; the second made it death enter upon the magistracy, without the people's; the third greatly favour of the poor, as, by exempting them from taxes,⁴ promoted their attention manufactures. Even his law against disobedience consuls was not less popular than the rest; and, in effect, it favoured the commonalty rather than the great; for the fine was only the value of five oxen and two sheep. The value of a sheep was ten *as*, of

¹ had where the temple called *Venus Publica* now stands. He had found in the historians *vicus ovium*, which in old Latin signifies victory; but as he did not understand it, he substituted *Vicus Publicus*, which here would have no sense at all.

² The axes too still borne before the consuls when they were the *Sold.*

³ If *Publicola* gave the plebeians, as well as the patricians, a right to the con-

sulate, that right did not then take place. For *Lucius Sextius* was the first plebeian who arrived at that honour, many ages after the time of which *Plutarch* speaks; and this continued but eleven; for in the twelfth, which was the 40th year of Rome, both the consuls were again patricians. Liv. vii. 4. 18.

⁴ The exempted orphans, widows, and old men, who had no children to relieve them, from paying

■ ox, 100;¹ ■ Romans ■ yet not making much use ■ money, because their wealth consisted in abundance of cattle. To this day they call their substance *peculia*, from *pecus*, cattle, their most ancient coins having the impression of ■ ox, ■ sheep, or a hog; and their ■ being distinguished with the ■ of *Snilli*, *Bulci*, *Caprarii*, and *Porcii*, derived from the name of such animals.

Though these laws of Publicola were popular and equitable, yet amidst this moderation, the punishment he appointed, in one ■, ■ For he made it lawful, without a form of trial, to kill any man that should attempt ■ set himself up for king; and the person that took away his life was to stand excused, if he could make proof of ■ intended crime. His ■ for such a law, ■ presume, ■ this: though it is not possible that ■ undertakes ■ great an enterprise should escape all notice, yet it is very probable that, though suspected, he may accomplish his designs before he can be brought ■ for it in a judicial way; ■ as the crime, if committed, would prevent his being called ■ for it, this law empowered any ■ punish him before such cogni- ■ was taken.

His law concerning the treasury did him honour. It was necessary that money should be raised for the war from the ■ of the citizens, but he determined that neither himself nor any of his friends should have the disposal of it; nor would he suffer it to be lodged in any private house. He, therefore, appointed the temple of Saturn to be the treasury, which they still make use of for that purpose, and empowered the people to choose two young men as *quaestors*, or *treasurers*.² The first were Publius Veturius and Marcus Minutius; and a large sum was collected; for 130,000 persons ■ taxed, though the orphans and widows stood excused.

These matters thus regulated, he procured Lucretius, the father of the injured Lucretia, ■ be appointed his colleague. To ■ he gave ■ *fascis* (as they ■ called) together with the presidency, ■ the older man; and this mark of respect ■ has ever since continued. As Lucretius died ■ few days after, another election ■ held, and Marcus Horatius Pulvillus appointed ■ room for the remaining part of the year.

About that time, Tarquin making preparations for ■ second ■ against the Romans, a great prodigy is said to have happened. This prince, while yet ■ the throne, had almost finished ■ temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, when, either by the direction of an oracle,³ or upon some fancy of his own, he ordered the ■

¹ ■ more, the fine was such that the commonly could not pay without absolute ruin.

² The office of the *quaestors* was to take care of the public treasure, for which they were accountable when their year was out: to furnish the necessary sums for the service of the public; and to receive ambassadors, attend them, and provide them with lodgings and other necessities. A general could not obtain the honours of

a triumph till he had given them a faithful account of the spoils he had taken, and sworn to it. There were ■ first two ■ only, but when ■ Roman empire was considerably enlarged, their number was increased. The office of *quaestor*, though often discharged by persons who had been consuls, was the first step to great employments.

³ It was an usual thing to place chariots on the tops of temples.

Veii to make an earthen chariot, which was to be placed on the top of it. Soon after this he forfeited the furnace; but the Tuscans, however, moulded the chariot, set it in the furnace; but it was very different with it from that other clay in the fire, it condenses and upon the exhalation of moisture, it enlarged itself and swelled, till it was of such a size and hardness that it was with difficulty they got it out, even after the furnace was dismantled. The soothsayers being of opinion that this chariot betokened power and the persons whom it should remain, the people of Veii determined not to give it up to the Romans; but, upon their demanding it, returned this answer, That it belonged to Tarquin, not to those that driven him from his kingdom. It happened that a few days after there was a chariot at Veii, which observed its usual; except that, the charioteer, who won the prize and received the crown, gently driving out of the ring, the horses took fright from its visible; but, either by its direction of the gods, or its fortune, ran away from their driver, at its speed, towards Rome. It was in vain that he pulled the reins, or soothed them with words, he was obliged to give way to the career, and was whirled along till they came to the capitol, where they flung him, at the gate called *Ratumena*. The Volentes, surprised and terrified at this incident, ordered the artist to deliver up the chariot.¹

Tarquin, son of Demaratus, in his alliance with the Sabines, made a vow to build a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, which was performed by Tarquin the proud, son or grandson to the former. He did not, however, consecrate it, for it was not quite finished when he was expelled from Rome.² When the last hand was put to it, and it had received every suitable ornament, Publicola was ambitious of the honour of dedicating it. This excited the envy of some of the nobility, who could better brook other honours; which, indeed, his legislative and military capacities, he had a claim; but, as he had no concern in this, they thought proper to grant it him, but encouraged and importuned Horatius to apply for it. In the meantime, Publicola's command of the army necessarily required his absence, and his adversaries taking opportunity to procure order from the people that Horatius should dedicate the temple, conducted him to the capitol. A point they could have gained had Publicola been present. Yet, some say, the consuls having lots for it,³ the dedication fell to Horatius, and the expedition, against his inclination, Publicola. We may easily conjecture how they stood disposed,

¹ A miracle of this kind, and not less extraordinary, is said to have happened in modern Rome. When poor St. Michael's church was in a ruinous condition, the horses that were employed in drawing through the city unanimously agreed to carry their loads to St. Michael.

² This temple was 300 feet long, and 185 and upwards broad. The front was

adorned with three rows of columns, and the sides with two. In the temple were three shrines, one of Jupiter, another of Juno, and the third of Minerva.

³ It is positively, they cast lots for it. Livy seems to have followed the sequel of the story from him. Liv. ii. c. 8.

by the proceedings on the day of dedication. The Sept. which about the moon of the month, *Metagirtion*, when prodigious numbers of all ranks being assembled, and silence enjoined, Horatius, after the other ceremonies, took hold of of the gate-posts (as the custom is), and was going to pronounce the prayer of consecration. But Marcus, the brother of Publicola, who had stood for some time by the gates watching opportunity, cried out, *Consul, your lies dead in the camp*. This gave great pain all who heard it; but the consul, in the least disconcerted, made answer, *Then cast out the dead where you please, I have of no mourning on occasion*; and he proceeded to finish the dedication. The was true, but an invention of Marcus, who hoped by that to hinder Horatius from completing what he was about. But his presence of mind was equally admirable, whether he immediately perceived the falsity, or without any emotion.

The fortune attended the dedication of the second temple. The first, built by Tarquin, and dedicated by Horatius, was afterwards destroyed by in the civil wars.¹ Sylla it, but he live to consecrate it; the dedication of this second temple was Catullus. It was again destroyed in the troubles which happened in the time of Vitellius; and a third built by Vespasian, who, with his usual good fortune, put the last hand to it, but did it demolished, as it soon after; happier in this respect than Sylla, who died before his was dedicated. Vespasian died his was destroyed. For immediately after his decease, the capitol was burned. The fourth, which stands, was built and dedicated by Domitian. Tarquin is said to have expended 30,000 lbs. weight of silver upon the foundations only; but the greatest wealth any private man is supposed to be possessed of in Rome would not answer the expense of the gilding of the present temple, which amounted to more than 12,000 talents.² The pillars are of Pentelic marble, and the thickness was in excellent proportion to their length, when we see them at Athens; but when they were cut and polished anew at Rome, they gained so much in the polish, as they lost in the proportion; for their beauty is injured by their appearing too slender for their height.

¹ After the first temple was destroyed in the wars between Sylla and Marius, Sylla rebuilt it with columns of marble, which he had taken out of the temple of Jupiter Olympus at Athens, and transported to Rome. But (as Plutarch observed) he did not live to consecrate it; and he was heard to say, as he was dying, that his leaving that temple to be dedicated by another was the only unfortunate circumstance of his life.

² 34,850 sterling. In this we may see the great distance between the wealth of the citizens in a free country, and the subjects of an arbitrary monarch. At Tarquin's time there was not a

private man in Rome worth £300,000; whereas under the emperor Augustus, Lucius Cornutus, in his temporary theatre which cost £300,000; Marcus Cramus had an estate in land above a million a year; L. Cornelius Balbus left by will, to every Roman citizen, twenty-five denarii, which amounts to about sixteen shillings of our money; and many men among the Romans were valued from 10,000 to 20,000 slaves, and so much for service as commoners. No wonder then that the slaves once took up arms against their masters, and went to war with the Romans.

admiring the magnificence of the capitol, if any was to go and see a gallery, a hall, a bath, or an apartment of the women, in Domitian's palace, what is said by Epicharmus of a prodigal,

Your lavish'd stores speak not the liberal mind,
The more of giving;

might apply to Domitian in some such manner as this: *Neither piety nor magnificence appears in your expense; you have a disease of building; like Midas of old, you would turn every thing into gold and marble.* So much for the subject.

Let us now return to Tarquin. After that great battle which he lost his son, he was killed in single combat by Brutus, at Clusium, he begged assistance of Lars Porsena, then the powerful prince in Italy and a man of great worth and honour. Porsena promised him succour;¹ and, in the first place, he the Romans, commanding them to receive Tarquin. Upon their refusal, he declared war against them; and having informed them of the time when, and the place where, he would make his assault, he marched thither accordingly with a great army. Publicola, who was then absent, was chosen consul the second time,² and with him Titus Lucretius. Returning to Rome, and desirous to outdo Porsena in spirit,³ he built the town of Sigliuria, notwithstanding the enemy's approach; and when he had finished the walls at a great expense, he placed in it a colony of 700 men, as if he held his adversary very cheap. Porsena, however, assaulted it in a spirited manner, drove out the garrison, and pursued the fugitives so close that he was entering Rome along with them. But Publicola met him without the gates, and joining battle by the river, sustained the enemy's attack, who pressed on with numbers, till he last sinking under the wounds he had gallantly received, he was carried out of the battle. Lucretius, his colleague, having the same fate, the courage of the Romans drooped, and they retreated into the city for security. The enemy making good the pursuit to the wooden bridge, Rome was in great danger of being taken; when Horatius Coclès,⁴ and with him others of the first rank, Herminius and Spurius Lartius, stopped them at the bridge. Horatius, the surname of *Coclès* from having lost an eye in the wars; or, as some will have it, from the form of his nose, which was so very flat, that, as well as his eye-brows, seemed joined together; that when he vulgar intended to call him *Cyclops*, by a misnomer, they called him *Coclès*, which remained to him. This man, standing at the end of the bridge, against

¹ Besides that Porsena was willing to assist a distressed king, he considered the Tarquins as his countrymen, for they were of Tuscan extraction.

² In the year of the city 243, the third time, and had for his colleague Horatius Pulvillus, that Porsena marched against Rome.

³ Sigliuria was not built at this time, nor out of ostentation, as Plutarch says:

for it was built as a barrier against the Latins and the Hernici, and the third, but in the consulship of Publicola.

⁴ He was son to a brother of Horatius the consul, and descendant of that Horatius who was so victorious in the great combat between the Horatii and Curiatii in the reign of Tullus Hostilius.

enemy, the Romans broke it down him. Then he plunged the Tiber, armed as he was, and other side, but wounded in the hip a Tuscan spear. Publicola, struck with admiration of his valour, immediately procured a decree, every Roman should give a day's provisions¹ and should have as much land as he himself could encircle with a plough in a day. Besides, they erected a statue in brass in a temple of Vulcan, with a view to console him by this honour for his wound, and lameness consequent upon it.

Porsena close siege to the city, attacked with famine, and another body of Tuscans country. Publicola, who was now consul the third time, was of opinion that no operations could be carried on against Porsena but defensive ones. He marched out,² however, privately against those Tuscans who had committed such ravages, defeated them, and killed 5000.

The story of Mucius Cordus has been the subject of many, and variously related : I shall give that of it which seems credible. Mucius in respects a man of merit, but particularly distinguished by his valour. Having secretly formed a scheme to take off Porsena, he made his way into his camp in a Tuscan dress, where he likewise took to speak the Tuscan language. In this disguise he approached the seat where the king with his nobles ; and he did not certainly know Porsena, and thought it improper to ask, he drew his sword and the person seemed likely to be the king. Upon this he was examined. Meantime, as there happened to be a portable altar there, with fire upon it, where the king about to offer sacrifice, Mucius thrust his right into it ; and the flesh burning, he kept looking upon Porsena with a firm and menacing aspect, till the king, astonished at his fortitude, returned him his sword with his hand. He received it with his left hand, from whence he is told he had the surname of *Scævola*, which signifies *left-handed* : and thus addressed himself to Porsena, "Your threatenings I regarded not, but am conquered by your generosity, and out of gratitude will declare to you what no force should have wrested from me. There are 300 Romans that have taken mine, who walk about your camp, watching their opportunity. It was my lot to make the first attempt, and I am sorry that my sword was directed by fortune against another, instead of a of so much honour, who, as such, should rather be a friend than an enemy to the Romans." Porsena believed his account, and was inclined to hearken to terms, not so much

¹ Probably he had 300,000 contributions, for even the women readily gave in their quota.

² The senate passed a report which was soon into the Roman camp by the slaves deserted, and the next day all the estates brought them from the country would be sent to grow in the

fields under a sword. This halt drew the army into an ambush.

³ Livy says that Porsena threatened Mucius with the torture by fire, to make him discover his accomplices ; when Mucius thrust his into the to let him see that he was not to be intimidated.

opinion through fear of 300 assassins, admiration dignity valour. All authors call this Mucius Scaevola,¹ except Athenodorus Sandon, who, in a work Octavia, sister to Augustus, says he named Posthumus.

Publicola, who did look upon Porsena bitter enemy Rome, but that he deserved to be taken into its friendship and alliance, far from refusing refer the dispute with Tarquin decision, that he was really desirous of it, several times to prove Tarquin was the worst of men, justly deprived of When Tarquin roughly answered, that would admit of arbitrator, much less of Porsena, if he changed mind and forsook his alliance, Porsena was offended, and be- to entertain opinion of him; being likewise solicited to it by his son Aruns, who used all his interest for the Romans, he was prevailed upon to put an end to the war on condition that they gave up part of Tuscany which they had conquered, together with the prisoners, and received their deserters. For the performance of these conditions, they gave as hostages ten young men and as many virgins, of the best families in Rome; among whom was Valeria the daughter of Publicola.

Upon the faith of this treaty, Porsena had ceased from all acts of hostility, when the Roman virgins down bathe, at a place where the bank forming itself in a crescent, embraces the river in a manner that there it is quite calm undisturbed with waves. As no guard was near, and they saw none passing or re-passing, they had a violent inclination to swim over, notwithstanding the depth and strength of the stream. Some say, one of them, named Cloelia, passed it on horseback, and encouraged the other virgins they When they came safe to Publicola, he neither commended approved their exploit, but grieved to think should unequal Porsena in point of honour, and that this daring enterprise of the virgins should make the Romans suspected of unfair proceeding. He took them, therefore, and them back to Porsena. Tarquin, having timely intelligence of this, an ambuscade for them, and attacked their convoy. They defended themselves, though greatly inferior in number; Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, broke through them they were engaged, with three servants, who conducted her Porsena's camp. As the skirmish was not yet decided, the danger over, Aruns, of Porsena, being informed of it, marched up all speed, put enemy flight, and rescued the Romans. When Porsena the virgins returned, he demanded which them was she that proposed the design, and set example. understood Cloelia was person, he treated her with great politeness, commanding one of his own horses be brought with very elegant trappings, he made her a present of Those say Cloelia only that passed the river horseback allege as a proof. Others no such consequence

¹ Mucius was rewarded with a large piece of ground belonging to the public.

² The Romans were required to re-

state Valentin in the possession of seven villages, which had taken from them in former wars.

drawn it, and that it was nothing than a mark of honour her from Tuscan king for bravery. An equestrian of her stands in the *Via sacra*,¹ where leads to Mount Palatine; yet will have this to Valeria's statue, Cloelia's.

Porsena, thus reconciled the Romans, by proofs of his greatness of mind. Among the rest, he ordered the Tuscans to carry off nothing but their arms, and to leave their full of provisions, and many other things of value, for Romana. Hence it is that, in our times, whenever there is a sale of goods belonging to the public, they are cried first the goods of Porsena, to eternise the of his generosity. A brazen statue, rude and antique workmanship, also erected his honour, the senate-house.²

After this, the Sabines invading the Roman territory, Marcus Valerius, brother Publicola, Posthumius Tubertus, elected consuls. As every important action conducted by the advice and assistance of Publicola, Marcus gained great battles; in the second of which killed 13,000 of the enemy, without the loss of one Roman. For this he was not only rewarded with a triumph, but a house was built for him at the public expense Mount Palatine. And whereas the doors of other houses at that time opened inwards, the street door of that house made to open outwards, to show by such an honourable distinction that he was always ready to receive any proposals for the public service.³ All in Greece, they tell us, were formerly made to open so, which they prove from those passages in the comedies where it is mentioned, that those that knocked loud the inside of door first, to give warning such as passed by stood before them, lest the doors in opening should dash against them.

The year following Publicola was appointed consul the fourth time, because a confederacy between the Sabines and Latins threatened a war; and, at the same time, the city oppressed superstitious terrors, on account of the imperfect births, and general abortions among the women. Publicola, having consulted the Sibyl's books upon it,⁴ offered sacrifice to Pluto, and renewed

¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us in express terms, that at that time, that is, the reign of Augustus, there were no remains of the *Via sacra*. It having been consumed by fire.

² Likewise sent an embassy to him, with a present of a throne adorned with ivory, a sceptre, a of gold, a triumphal robe.

³ Posthumius had his share in the triumph, as was the

⁴ An unknown woman is said to have come to Tarquin with nine volumes of oracles written by the Sibyl of Cumæ, for which she demanded a very considerable price. Tarquin refusing to purchase them at her rate, she burned three of them, and then asked the same price for the remaining six. Her proposal being rejected with scorn, she burned three more, and, notwithstanding, still insisted on her first

price. She then surprised at the novelty of the thing, put the into the hands of the augurs to be examined, who agreed to purchase them at any rate. Accordingly she did, appointed two of distinction, styled *Deveres*, to be guardians of them, who locked them up in a vault beneath the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and were they kept till they were burned with the temple itself. These officers, whose number afterwards increased, consulted the Sybiline books by direction of the senate, when some dangerous sedition was likely to break out, when the Roman armies had been defeated, or when any of those prodigies appeared which were thought fatal. They also presided over the sacrifices and games, which they appointed to appease the wrath of Heaven.

certain [] had formerly been instituted by [] direction of the Delphic oracle. When [] had revived the city [] the pleasing hope that the gods were appeased, [] prepared to arm against [] menaces of men ; for there appeared to be a formidable league and strong [] against him. Among the Sabines, Appius [] a man of an opulent fortune, and remarkable personal strength ; famed, moreover, for his virtues, and the force of his eloquence. What is the fate of all great men, [] be persecuted by envy, [] likewise his ; and his opposing the [] gave a handle [] malignity to insinuate that he wanted to strengthen the Roman power, in order the more easily [] enslave his [] country. Perceiving that the populace gave [] willing [] these calumnies, [] that [] was become obnoxious to the abettors of the war, he was apprehensive of an impeachment ; but being powerfully supported by his friends [] relations, he bade his [] defiance. This delayed the war ; Publicola making [] his business not only [] get intelligence of [] sedition, but also to encourage and inflame it, [] proper persons [] Appius, to tell him, " That he [] sensible he was a man of too much goodness and integrity to avenge himself of his countrymen, though greatly injured by them ; but if he chose, for his security, to come over to the Romans, and to get out of the way of his enemies, he should find such a [] both [] public and private, [] suitable [] his virtue and the dignity of Rome." Appius considered this proposal with great attention, and the [] cessity of his affairs prevailed with him to accept of it. He, therefore, persuaded his friends, and they influenced many others, so that 5000 [] of the most peaceable disposition of any among the Sabines, with their families, removed with him to Rome. Publicola, [] who was prepared for it, received them in the most friendly and hospitable manner, admitted them [] the freedom [] the city, and gave them two acres of land a-piece, by the river Anio. To Appius [] gave 25 acres, and [] seat in the senate. This laid [] foundation of his greatness in the republic, and he used the advantage with so much prudence, as to rise [] the first rank in power and authority. The Claudian family,¹ descended from him, [] [] illustrious [] any in Rome.

Though the disputes among the Sabines were decided by this migration, the demagogues would not suffer them [] rest ; representing it [] matter of great disgrace, if Appius, now [] deserter and [] enemy, should be able to obstruct their taking vengeance of the Romans, when [] could not prevent it by his presence. They advanced, therefore, with [] great army, and encamped near Fidenæ. Having ordered 2000 men to lie in ambush in the shrubby and hollow places before Rome, they appointed a few horse [] daybreak [] ravage [] country [] to the very gates, and then []

¹ There were two families of the Claudii in [] ; one patrician and the other plebeian. The first had the surname of *Publius*, and the [] [] *Marcellus*. In course of time the patrician family pro-

duced 23 consuls, 5 dictators, and 7 censors, and obtained two triumphs and two ovations. The emperor Tiberius was descended from this family.

retreat, till they drew the enemy into the ambuscade. But Publicola, getting information that ■ day of these particulars from deserters, prepared himself accordingly, and made a disposition of ■ forces. Posthumius Pulbus, his ■-in-law, went out with 3000 men, ■ it began to grow dark, and having taken possession of the summits of the hills under which the Sabines had concealed themselves, watched his opportunity. His colleague Lucretius, with the lightest and ■ active of ■ Romans, was appointed to attack the Sabine cavalry, ■ they were driving off the cattle, while himself with the ■ of ■ forces took a large compass, and enclosed the enemy's ■. The morning happened to be very foggy, when Posthumius, ■ dawn, with loud shouts, fell upon the ambuscade from ■ heights, Lucretius charged the horse in their retreat, and Publicola attacked the enemy's camp. The Sabines were everywhere worsted and put to the rout. As the Romans met not with the least resistance, the slaughter was prodigious. It is clear that ■ vain confidence of the Sabines was the principal cause of their ruin. While ■ part thought the other was safe, they did not stand upon their defence; those in the camp ran towards the corps that was placed in ambuscade, while they, in their turn, endeavoured to regain the camp. Thus they ■ in with each other in great disorder, and in mutual want of that assistance which neither way ■ to give. The Sabines would have been entirely cut off had not the city of Fidenæ been so near, which proved an asylum to some, particularly those that fled when the camp was taken. Such as did ■ take refuge there were either destroyed or taken prisoners.

The Romans, though accustomed to ascribe every great event to the interposition of the gods, gave the credit of this victory solely ■ the general; and the first thing the soldiers were heard to say was, that Publicola had put the enemy in their hands, lame, blind, and almost bound, for the slaughter. The people were enriched with the plunder and the sale of prisoners. As for Publicola, he ■ honoured with ■ triumph; and having surrendered the administration ■ the succeeding consuls, he died ■ after; thus finishing ■ in circumstances esteemed the happiest and most glorious that ■ attain to.¹ The people, ■ if they had done nothing to requite his merit in his lifetime, decreed, that his funeral should be solemnised at the public charge; and ■ make ■ the more honourable, every ■ contributed ■ piece of money called *quadrans*. Besides, ■ women, ■ of particular regard ■ his memory, continued the mourning for him ■ whole year. By an order of the citizens, his body was likewise interred within ■ city, near the place called *Velia*, and all his family were ■ have a burying-place there. At present, indeed, none of ■ descendants ■ interred in that ground; they only carry the corpse and set it ■

1 ■ was the most virtuous citizen, one of ■ generals, ■ the most popular ■ Rome ever had. As he had taken more care to transmit his virtues to posterity, than ■ ■ ;

and as, notwithstanding the frequency of ■ ■, and the great offices he had borne, there was not found money enough in his house to bury the corpse of his general, he ■ of the ■ of the public.

there, when one of the attendants puts a lighted torch under it, which [] immediately takes back again. Thus they claim by [] act the right, but waive the privilege; for the body is taken away, and interred without the walls.

CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

THE family of the Marcii afforded Rome many illustrious patricians. Of [] house [] Ancus Marcius, who [] grandson to Numa by [] daughter; [] also Publius and Quintus Marcius, who supplied Rome with plenty of the best [] Censorinus, too, who [] twice appointed *Censor by the people of Rome, and who procured a law that no man should ever bear that office twice afterwards*, had the [] pedigree.

Caius Marcius, of whom I now write, [] brought up by his mother in her widowhood; and from him it appeared that the loss of a father, though attended with other disadvantages, is no hindrance to a man's improving in virtue and attaining to a distinguished excellence; though [] men sometimes allege it as an excuse for their corrupt lives. On the other hand, the [] Marcius became witness to the truth of that maxim, [] if a generous and noble [] be not thoroughly formed by discipline, it [] shoot forth many bad qualities along with the good, as the richest soil, if [] cultivated, produces the rankest weeds. His undaunted courage and firmness of mind excited him to many great actions, and carried him through them with honour. But, [] the [] time, the violence of his passions, his spirit of contention and excessive obstinacy, rendered him untractable and disagreeable in conversation. So that those very persons who saw with admiration his soul unshaken with pleasures, toils, and riches, and allowed him to [] possessed of the virtues of temperance, justice, and fortitude, yet in [] cils and affairs of state, could not endure his imperious temper, and that savage manner, which was [] haughty for a republic. Indeed, *there is [] other advantage to be had from a liberal education, equal to that of polishing and softening our nature by reason and discipline;* for that produces [] of behaviour, [] banishes from [] manners []. There is this, however, [] be said, that in those times *military abilities were deemed by the Romans the highest excellence, insomuch that the term which they [] for [] general, was applied by them to valour in particular.*

Marcus, for his part, had [] more than ordinary inclination for war, and, therefore, from a child began to handle his []. As he thought that artificial [] avail but little, unless tho [] which [] has supplied us be well improved and kept ready [] he so prepared himself by exercise for every kind [] combat that, [] [] were active and nimble enough [] pursuing,

such was his force and weight of wrestling and in grappling with the enemy, that [] could easily get clear of him. Those, therefore, that had any [] with him for the prize of courage and valour, though they [] of success, flattered themselves with imputing it [] invincible strength, which nothing could resist or fatigue.

He made []st campaign when he was very young,¹ when Tarquin, who had reigned in Rome, was driven from the throne, and after many battles, fought with [] success, was now venturing all upon the last throw. Most of the people [] Latium, and many other [] of Italy, were now assisting and marching towards Rome, to re-establish him, not through any regard they had for Tarquin, but for fear and envy of the Romans, whose growing greatness they [] desirous to check. A battle ensued, with various [] of fortune. Marcius distinguished himself that day in sight of the dictator; for seeing [] Roman pushed down at [] small distance from him, he hastened to his help, and standing before him, he engaged his adversary and slew him. When [] dispute was decided in favour of the Romans, the general presented Marcius, among the first, with an oak leaf crown.² This is the reward which their custom assigns [] the man who saves the life of a citizen; either because they honoured the oak for the sake of the Arcadians, whom the oracle called *acorn eaters*; or because an oak leaf branch is [] easy to [] had, be the scene of action where it will; or because they think [] most suitable to take a crown for him who is the means of saving a citizen, from the tree which is sacred to Jupiter, the protector of cities. Besides, the oak bears [] and fairer fruit than any tree that grows wild, and is the strongest of those that are cultivated in plantations. It afforded the first ages both food and drink by its acorns and honey; and supplied men with birds and other creatures for dainties, as it produced the mistletoe, of which birdlime is made.³

Castor and Pollux [] said to have appeared in that battle, and with their horses dropping sweat, to have been [] soon after in 'the forum, announcing the victory [] the fountain, where the temple [] stands. Hence also it is said, that the 15th of July,⁴ being the day [] which [] victory was gained, is consecrated [] those [] of Jupiter.

It generally happens, that when [] of small ambition are very early distinguished by the voice of fame, their thirst of honour is [] quenched and their desires satiated; whereas deep and []

¹ In the first year of the 71st Olympiad, the 26th of Rome, 493 B.C.

² The civic crown was the foundation of many privileges. He who had once obtained it had a right to wear it always. When he appeared at the public spectacles, the senators rose up to do him honour. He was placed near their bench; and his father, and grandfather by the father's [] were entitled to the same privileges. [] was an encouragement to merit,

which [] the public nothing, [] was productive of many great efforts.

³ It does not anywhere appear that the ancients made use [] the oak in slubbing, how much nobler an encomium might an I [] that history afford that tree than Plutarch has been able to give []

⁴ By the great disorder of the Roman calendar, July 15th then fell upon 25th of our October.

minds are improved and brightened by marks of distinction, which serve, as a brisk gale, to drive them forward in pursuit of glory. They do not much think that they have received a reward, as that they have given a pledge, which would make them blush fall short of the expectations of the public, and therefore they deavour by their actions to exceed them. Marcius a soul of this frame. He always endeavouring to excel himself, and meditating some exploit which might set him in a new light, adding achievement to achievement, and spoils to spoils; therefore, latter generals under whom he served were always striving outdo the former in the honours they paid him, and in the tokens of their esteem. The Romans at that time engaged in several wars, and fought many battles, and there not that Marcius returned without honorary crown, some ennobling distinction. The end which others proposed in their acts of valour was glory; but *he pursued glory because the acquisition of it delighted his mother.* For when she witness to the applauses he received, when she him crowned, when she embraced him with of joy, then it was that he reckoned himself the height of honour and felicity. *Epaminondas had the same sentiments, and declared it the chief happiness of his life, that his father and mother lived to the generalship he exerted and the victory he at Leuctra.* He had the satisfaction, indeed, to see both his parents rejoice in success, and partake of his good fortune; but only the mother of Marcius, Volumnia, was living, and therefore holding himself obliged to pay her all that duty which would have belonged to his father, over and above what was due herself, he thought he could never sufficiently express his tenderness and respect. He married in compliance with her desire and request, and after his wife had borne him children, lived in the same house with mother.

At the time when the reputation and interest which virtue had procured him in Rome were very great, the senate, taking part of richer of citizens, at variance with the common people, who used by their creditors with intolerable cruelty. Those that had something considerable stripped of their goods, which either detained for security sold; and those that had nothing were dragged into prison, and there bound with fetters, though their bodies of wounds, and out with fighting for their country. The last expedition they were engaged in against the Sabines, which occasion their rich creditors promised to with more lenity, and, pursuance a decree of the senate, M. Valerius consul was guarantee that promise. when they had cheerfully undergone the fatigues that war, and returned victorious, and yet found that made them no abatement, and that the pretended remember nothing of that agreement, but without any of saw them dragged to prison, and their goods seized upon formerly, then they filled the city with tumult and sedition.

The enemy, apprised of these intestine broils, invaded

territories, and laid them waste with fire and sword. And when the consuls called upon such as were able to bear ■■■■ give in ■■■■ names, ■■■■ a man took any notice of it. Something ■■■■ then ■■■■ done; but the magistrates differed in their opinions. Some thought the poor should have a ■■■■ indulgence, and that the extreme rigour of the law ought to ■■■■ softened. Others declared absolutely against that proposal, and particularly Marcius. Not that he thought the money ■■■■ of great consequence, but ■■■■ considered this specimen of the people's insolence as ■■■■ attempt ■■■■ subvert the laws, and the forerunner of farther disorders, which it became ■■■■ wise government timely to restrain and suppress.

The ■■■■ assembled several times within the space of a few days, and debated this point; but as they ■■■■ no conclusion, ■■■■ a sudden the commonalty rose one and all, and, encouraging each other, they ■■■■ the city, and withdrew ■■■■ the hill now called *Sacred*, ■■■■ the river Anio, but without committing any violence ■■■■ other ■■■■ of sedition. Only as they went along, they loudly complained, "That it ■■■■ now a great while since the rich had driven them from their habitations; that Italy would anywhere supply them with air and water, and a place of burial; and that Rome, if they stayed in it, would afford them no other privilege, unless it ■■■■ such, to bleed and die in fighting for their wealthy oppressors."

The ■■■■ was then alarmed, and from ■■■■ oldest ■■■■ of their body selected the ■■■■ moderate and popular to treat with the people. At the head of them was Menenius Agrippa, who after much entreaty addressed to them, and many arguments in defence of the senate, concluded his discourse with this celebrated fable:—"The members of the human body once mutinied against the belly, and accused it of lying idle and useless, while they were all labouring and toiling to satisfy its appetites; but the belly only laughed ■■■■ their simplicity, who knew ■■■■ that though it received all the nourishment into itself, it prepared and distributed it again ■■■■ all parts of the body. Just so, my fellow citizens, said he, stands the ■■■■ between the senate and you. For their necessary counsels, ■■■■ of government, ■■■■ productive of advantage to you all, and distribute their salutary influence amongst the whole people."

After this they ■■■■ reconciled ■■■■ the senate, having demanded and obtained the privilege of appointing five men,¹ to defend their rights on all occasions. *These are called tribunes of the people.* The first that ■■■■ elected ■■■■ Junius Brutus,² and Sicinius Vel-

¹ The tribunes were at first five in number; but a few years after five more were added. Before the people left the *Monte Sacro*, they passed a law ■■■■ which ■■■■ persons of the tribunes were ■■■■. Their sole function was to interpose in ■■■■ offered the plebeians by ■■■■. This interposing was called ■■■■ was performed by standing up ■■■■ pronouncing the single word *Veto*, I forbid. ■■■■ had their seats placed

at the door of the senate, and were never admitted into it, ■■■■ when called them to ■■■■ their opinion ■■■■ concerned ■■■■ of the people.

² The name of this tribune was Lucius Junius, and because Lucius Junius Brutus was famed for delivering his country from the tyrannic yoke of the kings, he also assumed the surname of Brutus, ■■■■ exposed him to a great deal of ridicule.

lulus, leaders of the secession. When the breach thus made up, plebeians came to be enrolled as soldiers, and readily obeyed the orders of the consuls relative to them. As for Marcius, though he was far from being pleased at the advantages which the people had gained, as it was a lessening of the authority of the patricians, and though he found a considerable part of the nobility of his opinion, yet he exhorted them not to be backward wherever the interest of their country was concerned, but to show themselves superior to the commonality rather than in power.

Corioli was the capital of the country of the Volscians, with whom the Romans were at war. And it was besieged by consul Cominius, and many of the Volscians were much alarmed; they assembled to resist it, intending to give the Romans battle under the walls, and to attack them on both sides. But after Cominius had divided his forces, and with part went to the Volscians without, who were marching against him, leaving Titus Lartius, an illustrious Roman, with the other part, to carry on the siege, the inhabitants of Corioli despised the body that were left, and sallied out to fight them. The Romans at first were obliged to give ground, and were driven to their entrenchments. But Marcius with a small party flew to their assistance, killed the foremost of the enemy, and stopping the rest in their career, with a loud voice called the Romans back. For he was (what Cato wanted in a soldier) not only dreadful for the thunder of his arm, but of voice too, and had an aspect which struck his adversaries with terror and dismay. Many Romans then crowding about him, and being ready to second him, the enemy retired in confusion. Nor was he satisfied with making them retire; he pressed hard upon their rear, and pursued them quite up to the gates. There he perceived that they discontinued the pursuit, by reason of the shower of arrows which fell from the walls, and that many of them had many thoughts of rushing along with the fugitives into the city, which was filled with warlike people, who were all under arms; nevertheless, he exhorted and encouraged them to press forward, crying out, "That fortune had opened the gates rather to the victors than to the vanquished." But few were willing to follow him, he broke through the enemy, and pushed into the town with the crowd, the first daring to oppose him, even to look him in the face. But when he looked around, and saw a small number within the walls, whose services he could make use of in that dangerous enterprise, and that friends and foes were mixed together, he summoned all his force, and performed many incredible exploits, whether you consider his heroic strength, his amazing agility, or his bold and daring spirit; for he overpowered all that were in his way, forcing some to seek refuge in the farthest parts of the town, and others to give out and throw down their arms; which afforded Lartius an opportunity to bring the rest of the town unmolested.

The city thus taken, most of the soldiers were plundering, which

Marcus highly resented; crying out, "That is a shame for them to be about after plunder, or, under pretence of collecting spoils, to get out of the way of danger, while the consul and the Romans under his command were, perhaps, engaged with the enemy." As there were not many that listened to him, he put himself at the head of such as offered to follow him, and took the route which he knew would lead him to the consul's army; sometimes pressing his small party to hasten their march, sometimes juring them not to suffer their ardour to cool, and sometimes begging of the gods that the battle might not be before he arrived, but that he might share in the glorious toils and dangers of his countrymen.

It was customary with the Romans of that age, when they were drawn up in order of battle, and ready to take up their shields and gird their garments about them, to make a numupative will, naming his heir, in the presence of three or four witnesses. While the soldiers thus employed, and the enemy in sight, Marcus came up. Some started at his first appearance, covered with blood and sweat. But when he ran cheerfully up to the consul, took him by the hand, and told him that Corioli was taken, the consul clasped him to his heart: and those who heard the news of that success, and those who did but guess at it, were greatly animated, and with shouts demanded to be on the combat. Marcus inquired of Cominius in what manner the enemy's army was drawn up, and where their best troops were posted. Being answered, that the Antiates who were placed in the centre, were supposed to be the bravest and most warlike, "I beg it of you, then," said Marcus, "as a favour, that you will place me directly opposite to them." And the consul, admiring his spirit, readily granted his request.

When the battle began with the throwing of spears, Marcus advanced before the rest, and charged the centre of the Volscians with much fury that it was soon broken. Nevertheless, the wings attempted to surround him; and the consul, alarmed for him, sent his assistance a select band which he had reserved for his person. A sharp conflict then ensued about Marcus, and a great carnage was quickly made; but the Romans pressed the enemy with much vigour that they put them to flight. And when they were going upon pursuit, they begged of Marcus, almost weighed down with wounds and fatigue, to retire to the camp. But he answered, "That it was not for conquerors to be tired," and joined on in prosecuting his victory. The whole army of the Volscians was defeated, great numbers killed, and many made prisoners.

On the next day, the Romans waiting for the consul, who being assembled, Cominius mounted the rostrum; and having in that place returned due thanks to the gods for such extraordinary success, he himself began to speak. He began with a recital of his gallant actions, of which he himself been partly an eye-witness, and which had partly been related to him by Lartius.

of the great quantity of treasure, the many horses and prisoners they taken, he ordered him take tenth, before distributed was made to the rest, besides making him a present of a horse, with noble trappings, as reward for his valour.

The army received this speech with great applause; and Marcius, stepping forward, said, "That he accepted of the horse, and was happy in consul's approbation; but as for the rest, he considered it rather pecuniary reward than mark of honour, and, therefore, desired to be excused, being satisfied with his single share of the booty. One favour only in particular," continued he, "I desire, and beg may be indulged in. I have friend among Volscians, bound with in the sacred rites of hospitality, and of virtue and honour. He is among the prisoners, and from easy and opulent circumstances reduced servitude. Of the many misfortunes under which he labours, I should glad him from one, which is that of being sold as slave."

These words of Marcius were followed with still louder acclamations; his conquering the temptations of money being more admired than the valour he had exerted in battle. For even those who before regarded his superior honours with envy and jealousy, thought him worthy of great things because he had greatly declined them, and were more struck with that virtue which led him to despise such extraordinary advantages, than with the merit which claimed them. Indeed, *the right use of riches is commendable than that of arms: and not to desire them at all, more glorious than to use them well.*

When the acclamations were over, and the multitude silent again, Cominius subjoined, "You cannot, indeed, my fellow-soldiers, force these gifts of yours upon a person so firmly resolved to refuse them; let us then give him it is not in his power to decline, let pass a vote that he be called CORIOLANUS, if his gallant behaviour at Corioli has not already bestowed that name upon him." Hence his third of Coriolanus. By which it that Caius the proper; that the second name, Marcius, that of the family; and that the third Roman appellation a peculiar note of distinction, given after wards on account of some particular act of fortune, or signature, or virtue of him that bore it. Thus among the Greeks additional were given of their achievements, as *Soler, the preserver*, and *Callinicus, the victorious*; to others, for something remarkable in their persons, *Physcon, the gore-bellied*, *Gripus, eagle-nosed*; for their good qualities, *Euergetes, the benefactor*, and *Philadelphus, the kind brother*; or their good fortune, *Eudamon, the prosperous*, a name given to the second prince of the family of Batti. Several princes also have had satirical bestowed upon them; Antigonus (for instance) called *Doson, the man that will give to-morrow*, and Ptolemy was styled *Lamyras, the buffoon*. B appellations of last sort were used with greater latitude among the Romans. One of the Metelli distinguished by name of *Diadematus*, because he went long a

bandage, which covered an ulcer he had in his forehead; and another they called *Celer*, because with surprising celerity he [] tained them with a funeral show of gladiators, a few days after his father's death. In our times, too, some of the Romans receive [] from the circumstances of their birth; [] that of *Proculus*, if born when their fathers are in a distant [] try; and that of *Posthumus*, if born after their father's death; and when twins [] into the world, and [] of them dies at the birth, the survivor is called *Vopiscus*. Names are also appropriated on account [] bodily imperfections; for amongst them we find [] only *Sylla*, [] red, and *Niger*, [] black; but even *Cacus*, the blind, and *Claudius*, [] lame; such persons by this [] being wisely taught not [] slder blindness [] any other bodily misfortune as a reproach [] disgrace, but [] appellations of that kind as their proper []

When the [] [] over, the demagogues stirred up another sedition. And [] there was no new cause of disquiet or injury done the people, they made use of the mischiefs which were the necessary consequence of the former troubles and dissensions, [] handle against the patricians. For the greatest part of the ground being left uncultivated and unsown, and the war not permitting them to bring in bread-corn from other countries, there [] an scarcity in Rome.¹ The factious orators then seeing that corn was not brought to market, and that if the market could be supplied, the commonalty had but little money to buy with, slanderously asserted that the rich [] caused the famine out of a spirit [] revenge.

At this juncture there arrived ambassadors from the people of Velitræ, who offered to surrender their city to the Romans, and desired to have a number of new inhabitants to replenish it; a pestilential distemper having committed such ravages there, that scarcely the tenth part of the inhabitants remained. The sensible part of the Romans thought this pressing necessity of Velitræ a seasonable and advantageous thing for Rome, [] it would lessen the scarcity of provisions. They hoped, moreover, that the sedition would subside, [] the city were purged of the troublesome part of the people, who [] readily took [] the harangues of their orators, and who [] dangerous to the state as so many superfluous and morbid humours [] to the body. Such as these, therefore, the consuls singled out for the colony, and pitched upon others to [] in the war against the Volscians, contriving it so that employment abroad might [] the intestine tumults, and believing that, when rich and poor, plebeians and patricians, came to bear [] together again, to be in [] camp, and [] dangers, they would be disposed to [] each other with more gentleness and candour.

¹ The people withdrew to the sacred mount soon after the autumnal equinox, and the [] with the patricians [] place until the []

size, so that the [] was lost. [] the Roman factors, who were sent to buy corn in other countries, were very un-

restless tribunes, Brutus, opposed both designs, crying out, that consuls disguised a most inhuman under plausible term of a colony; for inhuman it certainly was throw the poor citizens into a devouring gulf, by sending them to a place where air was infected, and noisome carcasses lay ground, where also they would be at the disposal of a strange and cruel deity. And if it were not sufficient to destroy some by famine, and expose others to the plague, they involved them into a needless war, that kind of calamity might wanting to complete the ruin of the city, because it refused to continue in slavery to the rich.

The people, irritated by these speeches, neither obeyed the enlisted for the war, nor could be brought to approve the order to go and people Velitræ. While the in doubt what step they should take, Marcius, a little elated by the honours he had received, by his own great abilities, and by the deference that paid him by the principal persons in state, stood foremost in opposition the tribunes. The colony, therefore, sent out, heavy fines being upon such refused to go. But as they declared absolutely against serving in the war, Marcius mustered up his clients, and as many volunteers he could procure, and with these made an road into the territories of the *Antistes*. There he found plenty of corn, and a great number of cattle and slaves, no part of which he reserved to himself, but led his troops back to Rome, loaded with the rich booty. The of the citizens then repenting of their obstinacy, and envying those who had got such a quantity of provisions, looked upon Marcius with an evil eye, being able to endure the increase of his power and honour, which they considered as rising the ruins of the people.

Soon after, Marcius stood for the consulship; which occasion the commonalty began to relent, being sensible what a shame it would be to reject and affront a of his family and virtue, and that, too, after he had done signal services to public. *It was the custom for those who candidates for the consulship solicit and the people in the forum, and, at those times, to clad a loose gown without the tunic; whether that humble dress thought suitable for suppliants, whether it was for convenience of showing their wounds, so many tokens of valour.* For it was from any suspicion the citizens then had of bribery that they required the candidates to appear before them ungirt and without any close garment, when they came to beg their votes; since it was much later than this, and indeed many after, that buying and selling stole in, and money came a means of gaining election. Then corruption reaching also the tribunals and the camps, arms were subdued by money, and the commonwealth changed into a monarchy. It a shrewd saying, whoever it, "That who first ruined

people *as he who first gave them [] and gratuities.*" But this mischief crept secretly and gradually in, and did not show its face in [] for a considerable time. For we know not who it [] that [] citizens or its judges; but [] said that, in Athens, [] first [] who corrupted a tribunal was Anytas, the son of Anthymion, when he [] tried for treason in delivering up [] fort of Pylos, [] the latter end of the Peloponnesian war; a time when the golden [] reigned in the Roman courts in [] its simplicity.

When, therefore, Marcius showed the wounds and [] he had received [] the many glorious battles he had fought for 17 years successively, the people [] struck with reverence for his virtue, and agreed [] choose him consul. But when the day of election came, and [] conducted with great pomp into the *Campus Martius* by the [] in a body, [] the patricians acting with more zeal and vigour than ever had been known on the [] occasion; [] commons then altered their minds, and their kindness [] into envy and indignation. The malignity of these passions was farther assisted by the fear they [], that if a man so strongly attached [] the interests of the senate, and so much respected by the nobility, should attain the consulship, he might utterly deprive the people of their liberty. Influenced by these considerations, they rejected Marcius, and appointed others to that office. The [] took this extremely ill, considering it as an affront rather intended against them than against Marcius. As for Marcius, he resented that [] highly, indulging his irascible passions upon a supposition, that they have something great and exalted in them; and wanting a due mixture of gravity and mildness, which [] the chief political virtues, and the fruits of reason and education. He did not consider that the man who applies himself [] public business, and undertakes to [] with men, should, above all things, avoid that *overbearing austerity*, which (as *Plato* says) is always the companion of solitude, and cultivate in his heart the patience which [] people so much deride. Marcius, then, being plain and artless, but rigid and inflexible withal, was persuaded that [] vanquish opposition was the highest attainment of a gallant spirit. [] dreamed that such obstinacy is rather the effect of the weakness and effeminacy of a distempered mind, which breaks [] in violent passions, like so many []; and, therefore, he went away in great disorder, and full of rancour against the people. Such of the young nobility [] distinguished by the pride of [] and greatness of spirit who had always been wonderfully taken with Marcius, and then unluckily happened [] attend him, inflamed his resentment, by expressing their [] grief and indignation. For he [] their leader in every expedition, and their instructor in the [] of war: he it [] who inspired [] with a truly virtuous emulation, and taught them [] rejoice in [] success, without envying the exploits of others.

In [] meantime, a great quantity of bread-corn [] brought to Rome, being partly bought up in Italy, and partly a present from Gelon, king of Syracuse. The [] of affairs appeared now []

encouraging; it was hoped intestine broils cease with the scarcity. The senate, therefore, being immediately assembled, the people stood in crowds without, waiting for the result of their deliberations. They expected that the market-rates of the corn that was bought would be moderate, and that a distribution of that which was a gift would be made *gratis*; for there were some who proposed that the senate should dispose of it in that manner. But Marcius stood up and severely censured those that spoke in favour of the commonalty, calling them demagogues and traitors to the nobility. He said, "They nourished to their great prejudice the pernicious seeds of boldness and petulance, which have been among the populace, when they should rather have nipped them in the bud, and have suffered the plebeians to strengthen themselves with the tribunitial power. That people now become formidable, gaining whatever point they pleased, and doing any one thing against their inclination; so that living in a state of anarchy they would no longer obey the consuls, acknowledge any superiors but those whom they pleased, and magistrates. That the senators who advised that distributions should be made in the manner of the Greeks, whose government was entirely democratical, were effecting the ruin of the constitution, by encouraging the insolence of the rabble. For that they would not suppose they received such favours for the campaign which they had refused to make, or for the secessions by which they deserted their country, or for the calumnies which they had tenanted against the consuls; but they will think that they yield to them through fear, and grant them such indulgences by way of flattery; and they will expect to find us always complaisant, there will be no end to their disobedience, no period to their turbulent and seditious practices. It would, therefore, be perfect madness to take such a step. If, if we are wise, we shall entirely abolish the tribunes' office,¹ which has made ciphers of the consuls, and divided the city in such a manner, that it is no longer as formerly, but broken into two parts, which will never knit again, we cease to vex and harass each other with all the evils of discord."²

Marcius, haranguing to this purpose, inspired the young men and the people with his enthusiasm; and they cried out that he was the only man in Rome who had a spirit above the influence of flattery and submission; yet some of the aged foresaw the consequence, and opposed his plan. In fact, the issue was unfortunate. For the tribunes who were present, when they saw that Marcius would have a majority of voices, ran out to the people, loudly calling upon them to be led by their magistrates and give their best aid. An assembly

¹ The tribunes had lately procured a law, which made it penal to interrupt them when they were speaking to the people.

² Pincus has omitted the most aggra-

vating passage in Coriolanus's speech, wherein he proposed the holding up the price of bread-corn as high as ever, to keep the people in dependence and subjection.

then ■ ■ in a tumultuary manner, in which the speeches of Marcius ■ recited, and the plebeians in their fury had thoughts of breaking in upon the senate. The tribunes pointed their rage against Marcius in particular, by impeaching him in form, and sent for him to make his defence. But ■ he spurned the messengers, they went themselves, attended by the ædiles, to bring him by force, and began to lay hands on him. Upon this the patricians stood up for him, drove off the tribunes, and beat the ædiles ; till night coming ■ broke off the quarrel. Early next morning, the consuls observing that the ■ people, now extremely incensed, flocked ■ all quarters into the *forum* ; and dreading what might be the consequence ■ the city, hastily convened the senate, and moved, " That they should consider how, with kind words and favourable resolutions, they might bring the ■ to temper ; for that this was ■ a time to display their ambition, nor would ■ prudent to pursue disputes about the point of honour ■ a critical and dangerous juncture, which required the greatest moderation ■ delicacy of conduct." As the majority agreed to the motion they went out to confer with the people, and used their best endeavours to pacify them, coolly refuting calumnies, and modestly, though not without some degree of sharpness, complaining of their behaviour. As to the price of bread-corn and other provisions, they declared there should ■ no difference between them.

Great part of the people were moved with this application, and it clearly appeared, by their candid attention, that they were ready to cleave with it. Then the tribunes stood up and said, " That since the ■ acted with such moderation, the people were not unwilling to make concessions in their turn ; but they insisted that Marcius should ■ and answer to these articles : *Whether he had not stirred up the senate to the confounding of all government, and to the destroying of the people's privileges ? Whether he had ■ refused ■ obey their summons ? Whether he had not beaten and otherwise maltreated the ædiles in the forum ; and by these ■ (so far as in him lay) levied war, and brought the citizens ■ sheath their swords in ■ h other's bosom ?* These things they said with ■ design, either ■ humble Marcius, by making him submit to ■ the people's clemency, which ■ much against his haughty temper ; or, if he followed his native bent, ■ draw him ■ make the breach incurable. The latter they were in hopes of, and the rather because they knew the man well. He ■ as ■ he would have made his defence, and the people waited in silence for what he had ■ But when, instead of the submissive language that was expected, he began with an aggravating boldness, and rather accused the commons, than defended himself ; when with the tone of ■ voice and the fierceness of his looks, ■ expressed ■ intrepidity bordering upon insolence and contempt, they ■ patience ; and Sicinius, the boldest of the tribunes, after ■ consultation with his colleague, pronounced openly, that ■ tribunes condemned Marcius to die. He then ordered the ædiles to take him immediately up to the top of the Tarpeian rock, ■

three tribes, and the penalty ■ ■ inflicted upon him ■■ perpetual banishment.

After the sentence pronounced, the people more elated, and went off in greater transports than they ever on account of victory in the field ; the senate, the other hand, in the greatest distress, and repented that they had not the last risk, rather than suffer the people possess themselves of much power, and it in so insolent a manner. There no need to look upon their dress, or any other mark of distinction, to know which a plebeian and which a patrician ; the man that exulted, was a plebeian : and the man that dejected, patrician.

Marcus alone was unmoved and unblinded. Still lofty in his port and firm in his countenance, he appeared to be sorry for himself, and to be the only one of the nobility that was not. This air of fortitude was not, however, the effect of courage or moderation, but the man buoyed up by anger and indignation. And this, though the vulgar know it not, has its rise from grief, which when it catches flame is turned to anger, and then bids adieu to all feebleness and dejection. Hence, the angry man is courageous, just as he who has a fever is hot, the mind being upon the stretch and in a violent agitation. His subsequent behaviour soon showed that he was thus affected. For having returned to his own house, and embraced his mother and his wife, who lamented their fate with the weakness of women, he exhorted them to bear it with patience, and then hastened to one of the city gates, being conducted by the patricians in a body. Thus he quitted Rome, without asking or receiving ought of any man's hand; and took with him only three or four clients. He spent a few days in a solitary manner at some of his farms near the city, agitated with a thousand different thoughts, such as his anger suggested; in which he did not propose any advantage to himself, but considered only how he might satisfy his revenge against the Romans. At last he determined to spirit up a cruel war against them from some neighbouring nation; and for this purpose to apply first to the Volscians, whom he knew to be yet strong both in arms and money, and whom he supposed to be rather exasperated and provoked to farther conflicts, than absolutely subdued.

There was then a person ■ Antium, Tullus Aufidius by name,¹ highly distinguished among the Volscians, by his wealth, his valour, and noble birth. Marcius was very sensible that, of ■ the Romans, himself ■ the ■ whom Tullus most hated. For, excited by ambition and emulation, as young warriors usually ■ they ■ several engagements encountered each other with menaces, and bold defiance, and thus had added personal enmity ■ the hatred which reigned between the ■ nations. But notwithstanding ■ this, considering the great generosity of Tullus, and knowing that

■ Livy and Dionysius ■ Hellenistic
call ■ ■ Attica; ■ with them
an anonymous ■ ■

however, which is very near the Bodleian reading, has a Latin sound, and probably that Flotarch [redacted] to [redacted]

he more desirous than any of the Volscians of an opportunity
return upon the Romans part of the evils his country had suffered,
took a method which strongly confirms that saying of the poet,

Wrath, how strong away! through life's the forfeit,
Thy be gain'd.

For, putting himself in such clothes and habiliments most
likely to prevent being known, Ulysses,

He stole into the hostile town.

It evening when he entered, and though many people him
in the streets, not of them knew him. He passed therefore
house of Tullus, where he got in undiscovered, and having
directly made up the fire-place,¹ he seated himself without saying
word, covering his face, and remaining in a composed posture.
The people of the house very much surprised; yet they did
not disturb him, for there was something of dignity both
in his person and his silence; but they went and related the strange
adventure Tullus, who then at supper. Tullus, upon this rose
from table, and coming to Coriolanus, asked him *If he was, and
upon what business he was come?* Coriolanus, uncovering his face,
paused awhile, and then thus addressed him: "If thou dost not yet
know me, Tullus, but distrustest thine own eyes, I must of necessity
be mine own. I am Caius Marcius, who have brought so
many calamities upon the Volscians, and bear the additional name
of Coriolanus, which will suffer me to deny that imputation,
were I disposed to it. For the labours and dangers I have
undergone, I have no other reward left but that appellation, which
distinguishes my enmity to your nation, and which cannot indeed
be taken from me. Of everything else I deprived by the envy
and outrage of the people, on the one hand, and the cowardice and
trenchery of the magistrates and those of mine order, the
other. Thus driven out exile, I a suppliant thy
household gods; not for shelter and protection, for why should I
hither, I were afraid of death? but for vengeance against
those who have expelled me, which methinks, I begin take, by
putting myself into thy hands. If, therefore, thou art disposed to
attack the enemy, on, brave Tullus, avail thyself of my mis-
fortunes; let my personal distress be the common happiness of the
Volscians. You may be assured, I shall fight much better for you
than I have fought against you, because they who know perfectly
the of the enemy's affairs much capable of annoying
them than such do not know them. But if thou hast given up
thoughts of war, I neither desire to live, is it fit for me to
preserve a person who of old has been thine enemy, and now is not
able to do thee any sort of service."

Tullus, delighted with this address, gave him ,
"Rise," said he, "Marcius, courage. The present you

¹ The fire-place, having
gods in it, was consecrated; and there-

fore all supplicants resorted to it, as to an
oracle.

thus make of yourself [REDACTED] inestimable; and you may assure yourself that the Volscians will [REDACTED] be ungrateful. Then [REDACTED] entertained him [REDACTED] his [REDACTED] with great kindness; and the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] the following days they consulted together about the [REDACTED].

Rome [REDACTED] then in great confusion, by reason of [REDACTED] animosity [REDACTED] the nobility against the commons, which [REDACTED] considerably heightened by the late condemnation of Marcius. Many prodigies were also [REDACTED] by private persons, as well as by the priests and diviners, [REDACTED] of which was as follows: Titus Latinus, a [REDACTED] of no high rank, but of great modesty and candour, [REDACTED] addicted [REDACTED] superstition, much less [REDACTED] vain pretences to what [REDACTED] extraordinary, [REDACTED] this dream. Jupiter, he thought, appeared [REDACTED] him, and ordered him [REDACTED] [REDACTED] senate, *That they had provided [REDACTED] a very bad and ill-favoured leader of the dance in [REDACTED] sacred procession.* When he had [REDACTED] this vision, he said, he paid but little regard to it [REDACTED] first. It [REDACTED] presented [REDACTED] second and [REDACTED] third time, and he neglected it; whereupon [REDACTED] had the unhappiness to see his son sick and die, and he himself [REDACTED] suddenly struck in such a [REDACTED] [REDACTED] to lose the use of his limbs. These particulars he related in the senate-house, being carried on his couch for that purpose. And he had no sooner made [REDACTED] end than he perceived, as they tell us, his strength return, and rose up and walked home without help.

The senate were much surprised, and made a strict inquiry into the affair; the result of which was, that a certain householder had delivered up one of his slaves, who had been guilty of [REDACTED] offence, to his other servants, with [REDACTED] order to whip [REDACTED] through the market-place, and then put him [REDACTED] death. While they were executing this order, and scourging the wretch, who writhed himself, through the violence of pain, into various postures,¹ the procession happened [REDACTED] up. Many of the people that composed it [REDACTED] fired with indignation, for the sight was excessively disagreeable [REDACTED] shocking to humanity; yet nobody gave him the least assistance; only [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] [REDACTED] vented against the [REDACTED] who punished with so much cruelty. For [REDACTED] those [REDACTED] *they treated their slaves with great moderation, and this [REDACTED] natural, because they worked and even ate with them.* It was deemed a great punishment for [REDACTED] slave who had committed a fault to take up that piece of wood with which they supported the [REDACTED] of a waggon, and carry it round [REDACTED] neighbourhood. For he that was thus exposed [REDACTED] the derision of the family and other inhabitants of the place, entirely lost [REDACTED] credit, and [REDACTED] styled *Furcifer*; the Romans calling that piece of timber *furca* which the Greeks call *hypostates*, that is, a *supporter*.

When Latinus had given the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] dream, and they doubted *who this ill-favoured and [REDACTED] leader of [REDACTED]* might be, the excessive severity [REDACTED] the punishment put some [REDACTED] them in mind of the slave who was whipped through the market-

¹ According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the master [REDACTED] given orders that the slave should be punished at [REDACTED] of the procession, to make the [REDACTED] the more

notorious: [REDACTED] was a still greater affront to the deity in whose honour the procession was held.

place, afterwards put to death. the priests agreeing that he must be the person meant, his had a heavy fine laid upon him, and the procession and games exhibited in honour of Jupiter. Hence it appears Numa's religious institutions in general very wise, and that particular is highly conducive to the purposes of piety, namely, that when the magistrates or priests employed in any sacred ceremony, before, proclaims aloud, *Hoc age, i.e., be attentive to this*; hereby commanding everybody regard solemn religion, and suffer any business avocation intervene and disturb them, well knowing men's attention, especially in what worship gods, is seldom fixed but by a of violence and constraint.

it only in important a that the Romans begin anew their sacrifices, their processions, and games; they it for very small. If one of the horses that draw the chariots called *Terna*, in which placed the images of the gods, happened to stumble, or the charioteer took the reins in his left hand, the procession to be repeated. And in later ages they have set about sacrifice thirty several times, on account of some defect inauspicious appearance in it. Such reverence have the Romans paid to the Supreme Being.

Meantime Marcius and Tullus held secret conferences with the principal Volscians, in which they exhorted them to begin the war, while Rome was in pieces with factious disputes; but a of honour restrained some of them from breaking the which was concluded for two years. The Romans, however, furnished them with a pretence for it, having, through some suspicion of false suggestion, caused proclamation be made at one of the public shows or games, that all the Volscians should quit the before sunset. Some say it was a stratagem contrived by Marcius, who suborned a person to go to the consuls, and the Volscians of a design to attack the Romans during the games, and set fire to the city. This proclamation exasperated the whole Volscian nation against the Romans; and Tullus, greatly aggravating affront, persuaded them to send to Rome demand that the lands and cities which had been taken from them in the war should be restored. The having heard what the ambassadors to say, answered with indignation, "that Volscians might be the first take up arms, but the Romans would be last lay them down." Hereupon, Tullus summoned a general assembly of countrymen, whom advised to send for Marcius, and forgetting past injuries, to rest satisfied that the service would do them, their ally, would greatly exceed all damage they received from him, while their enemy.

1 "I alone," said he, "of all the different nations now in Rome, are thought worthy to see the games alone, the profligate wretch

alone, are driven from a public festival. Go and tell in all your cities and villages, distinguishing mark the Romans have upon us."

accordingly in, and an oration to people; who found that he knew how to speak as well as fight, and that he excelled in capacity as well as courage, and therefore they joined him in commission with Tullus. As he was afraid that the Volscians would spend much time in preparations, and so lose a favourable opportunity for action, he left it to the magistrates and other principal persons in Antium to provide troops and whatever else was necessary, while he, without making any levies, took a number of volunteers, and with them overran the Roman territories before anybody in Rome could expect it. There he made so much booty that the Volscians found it difficult to carry off, and to collect it in the camp. But a great quantity of provisions he collected, and the damage he did the enemy by committing such spoils, the least part of the service in this expedition. The great point he had in view in the whole matter, was to increase the people's suspicions of the nobility. For, while he ravaged the whole country, he was very attentive to spare the lands of the patricians, and that nothing should be carried off from them. Hence, the ill opinion the parties had of each other; and consequently the troubles grew greater than ever; the patricians accusing the plebeians of unjustly driving out one of the bravest men in Rome, and the plebeians reproaching them with bringing Marcius upon them, to indulge their revenge, and with sitting secure spectators of what others suffered by the war, while the army itself was on guard to their lands and subsistence. Marcius having thus accomplished his purpose, inspired the Volscians with courage, not only to meet, but even to despise the enemy, drew off his party without being molested.

The Volscian forces assembled with great expedition and alacrity; and they appeared in considerable numbers that it was thought proper to leave part of the garrison their towns, while the rest marched against the Romans. Coriolanus leaving it in the option of Tullus which corps he would command, Tullus observed, that as his colleague was not in all inferior to himself in valour, and he hitherto fought with better success, he thought it most advisable for him to lead the army into the field, while himself stayed behind to provide for the defence of the towns, and to supply the troops that made the campaign with everything necessary.¹

Marcius, strengthened more by this division of the command, marched first against Circeii,² a Roman colony; and as it was rendered without resistance, he would not suffer it to be plundered. After this he laid waste the territories of the Latins, expecting that the Romans would hazard a battle for the Latins, who were

¹ It would have been very imprudent in Tullus to have left Coriolanus, who had been an enemy, and now might possibly be only a pretended friend, at the head of an army in the bowels of his country while he was marching at the head of another against Rome.

² For the right location of this, and

the towns soon after mentioned, see Livy, book ii. c. 30. Plutarch calls the town Circeum. His error is much more than that of Livy. He writes *Cloelia* for *Circeii*. Somewhat too, the former translator makes a mistake where Plutarch had made none.

allies, and by frequent messengers called upon them for assistance. But the _____ of Rome showed no alacrity in the affair, and the consuls, whose office was almost expired, _____ not willing _____ such _____ risk, and therefore rejected the request of the Latins. Marcius then turned his arms against Tolerium, Labici, Pedum, and Bola, cities of Latium, which he took by assault; and because they made resistance, sold the inhabitants _____ slaves, and plundered their houses. At the _____ time he took particular _____ of such as voluntarily _____ to him; and that they might _____ sustain any damage against his will, he always encamped _____ the greatest distance _____ he could, and would not even touch upon their lands, _____ he could avoid it.

Afterwards _____ took Bola, _____ is little _____ than twelve miles from Rome, where he put to the sword almost all that _____ of _____ to bear arms, and got much plunder. The rest of the Volscians, who _____ _____ safeguard to the towns, had not patience to remain _____ home any longer, but ran with their weapons in their hands to Marcius, declaring that they knew no other leader _____ general but him. His _____ and his valour were renowned through Italy. All were astonished that one man's changing sides could make so prodigious an alteration in affairs.

Nevertheless, there was nothing but disorder at Rome. The Romans refused to fight, and passed their time in cabals, seditious speeches, and _____ complaints; until news was brought that Coriolanus had laid siege to Lavinium, where the holy symbols of _____ gods of their fathers were placed, and from whence they derived their original, that being the first city which _____ Enceas built. A wonderful and universal change of opinion then appeared among the people, and a very strange and absurd one among the patricians. The people were desirous to annul the sentence against Marcius, and to recall him to Rome, but the senate being assembled _____ deliberate on that point, finally rejected the proposition; either out of a perverse humour of opposing whatever measure the people espoused, _____ perhaps unwilling that Coriolanus should _____ his _____ to the _____ of the people; or else having conceived some resentment against him for harassing and distressing _____ the Romans, when he had been injured only by _____ part, and for showing himself an enemy to his country, in which he knew the _____ respectable body had both sympathised with him and shared in his ill-treatment: this resolution being announced _____ the commons,¹ it _____ in their _____ to proceed to vote _____ pass a bill: for a previous decree _____ the _____ was necessary.

At this news, Coriolanus _____ _____ exasperated; _____ that, quitting the siege of Lavinium,² he marched with great fury towards

¹ Perhaps the senate now refused to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themselves from the suspicion of maintaining a correspondence with Coriolanus, or possibly out of that magnanimity

which made the Romans averse to peace, when they were attended _____ had _____ in war.

² _____ _____ of _____ to _____ the blockade.

Rome, encamped only five miles from it, *Fossa Cluilia*. The sight of him caused great and confusion, but for the present it appeased the sedition ; for neither magistrate senator durst any longer oppose the people's desire recall him. When they saw women running up and down streets, supplications and tears of the aged men the altars the gods, when all courage and spirit were gone, and salutary councils more ; then they acknowledged that the people right in endeavouring to be reconciled Coriolanus, and that under great mistake, in beginning indulge the passions of revenge a time when they have renounced them. All, therefore, agreed send ambassadors to Coriolanus offer him liberty return, and him to put end Those that went on the part of the being either relations or friends of Coriolanus, expected the first interview much kindness from a man who was thus connected them. But happened quite otherwise : for, being conducted through the Volscian ranks, they found him seated council, with number of great officers, and with insufferable appearance of pomp and severity. He bade them then declare their business, which they did in a very modest and manner, as became the of their affairs.

When they had made an end of speaking, he answered them with much bitterness and high resentment of the injuries done him ; and, as general of the Volscians, he insisted " That the should restore all the cities which they had taken in the former ; and that they should grant by decree the freedom of the city the Volscians, they had done to the Latins ; for that no lasting peace could be made between the two nations, but upon these just and equal conditions." He gave them thirty days consider of them ; and having dismissed the ambassadors, immediately retired from the Roman territories.

Several among the Volscians, who for long time had envied his reputation, and had been uneasy at the interest had with the people, availed themselves of this circumstance to calumniate and reproach him. Tullus himself was of the number. Not that he had received any particular injury from Coriolanus ; but led away by passion natural to man. It gave him pain find own glory obscured, and himself entirely neglected by the Volscians, who looked upon Coriolanus as their head, and thought others might well satisfied with that portion of power and authority which he thought proper to allow them. Hence, hints were first given, and in their private cabals, his enemies pressed their dissatisfaction, giving the of For though he had not betrayed their cities or armies, yet they said he traitorously given up time, by which and all other things are both won and lost. He had allowed them a respite of no less than thirty days, knowing their affairs so embarrassed, that they wanted such a space to re-establish them.

Coriolanus, however, not spend those thirty days idly.

harassed the enemy's allies,¹ [] their lands, and took seven great and popular cities in [] interval. The Romans [] not venture [] send them any succours. They [] as spiritless, [] little disposed to the war, [] if their bodies had been relaxed [] benumbed with the palsy.

When the term [] expired, and Coriolanus returned with all his forces, they [] a second embassy, "To entreat him [] lay aside his resentment, [] draw off the Volscians from their territories, [] then [] proceed [] should seem most conducive to the advantage of both nations. For that the Romans would [] give up anything through fear; but [] he thought it reasonable that [] Volscians should [] indulged in [] particular points, they would be [] considered if they laid down their arms." Coriolanus replied, "That as general of the Volscians, he would give them no []; but [] one who [] yet a citizen of Rome, he would advise and [] hort them to entertain humble thoughts, and to come within three days with a ratification of the just conditions he had proposed. At the same time he assured them that, if their resolutions should [] of a different nature, it would [] be safe for them to come any more into his camp with empty words."

The senate, having received the report of the ambassadors, considered the commonwealth as ready to sink in the waves of a dreadful tempest, and therefore [] the last, the *sacred [] hor*, as it is called. They ordered [] the priests of the gods, the ministers and guardians of the mysteries, and all that, by the ancient usage of their country, practised divination by the flight of birds, to go to Coriolanus, in their robes, [] the ensigns which they bear in the duties of their office, and exert their utmost endeavours to persuade him to desist from the war, and then to treat with his countrymen of articles of peace for the Volscians. When they came, he did indeed vouchsafe [] admit them into the camp, but showed them no other favour, nor gave them a milder [] than the others had received; [] bade them, in short, "either accept the former proposals, [] for war."

When the priests returned, the Romans resolved [] keep close within the city, and [] defend the walls; intending only [] repulse the enemy, should he attack them, and placing their chief hopes [] the accidents of time and fortune; for they knew of no [] within themselves; the city was full of trouble and confusion, terror, and unhappy presages. At last, something happened similar to what [] often mentioned by Homer, but which [] in general [] little inclined to believe. For when, on occasion of any great and uncommon event, [] says,

[] inspired [] counsel;

and again,

But some immortal power who rules the mind changed their resolves;

¹ By this he prevented the allies of the Romans from assisting them, and guarded against the charge of treachery, which

some of the Volscians were ready to bring against him

elsewhere,

The thought spontaneous rising or by some god inspired ———

They despise the poet, as if, for the sake of absurd and incredible fables, he endeavoured to take away the liberty of A thing which Homer never dreamed of, for whatever happens is ordinary of things and is the effect of moderation, he often ascribes to our power,

—— My own great mind I then consulted

In another place,

Achilles heard with grief, and to your thoughts perplex'd his mighty mind

Once more,

— But she is vainly tempted Bellerophon
Noble youth with his arm

And in extraordinary and wonderful actions, which require some supernatural impulse and enthusiastic movement, he introduces the Deity as depriving man of freedom of will, but moving the will. He does not represent the heavenly Power as producing the resolution, but ideas which lead to the resolution. The act, therefore, is by involuntary, since only is given to free operations, and confidence and good hope superadded. For either the Supreme Being be excluded from all causality and influence upon our actions, or it must be confessed that this is the only way in which he assists men and co-operates with them, since it is not to be supposed that he fashions our corporeal organs, or directs the motions of our hands and feet to the purposes he designs, but that by certain motives and ideas which he suggests, he either excites the active powers of the will, or else restrains¹

The Roman were then dispersed in several temples, but the greatest part and the most illustrious of the made their supplications at the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among last was Valeria, the sister of the great Publicola, a person who had done the Romans the most considerable both in peace and war. Publicola died time before, but Valeria still lived in the greatest, for her life did honour to her high birth. This discerning, by divine impulse, what would be the best expedient, and called upon the other to attend her house of Volumnia,² the mother of Coriolanus. When entered, and found her sitting with her daughter law, and with the children of Coriolanus on her lap, she approached her with her female companions, and spoke this effect "We address selves you, Volumnia and Virgilia, women, without

¹ I have here represents the Divine agent as a force prevail (if it is prevail) by rational motives. The last Christian divines describe it in the same manner.

² D. Volumnia of Hibernia and Irvy call Volumnia, and his wife

spectacle that should have been the most pleasing in ■■■ world into the ■■■ dreadful ; when Volumnia beholds her son, and Virgilia her husband, encamped in a hostile manner before the walls of his native city. And what ■■■ others is the greatest consolation under misfortune and adversity, I mean prayer to the gods, to us is rendered impracticable ; for we cannot ■■■ the same time beg victory for our country and your preservation, out what ■■■ enemies would imprecate ■■■ a curse, must of necessity be interwoven with ■■■ prayers. Your wife and children ■■■ either see their country perish, or you. As to my ■■■ part, I will not live to see ■■■ decided by fortune. If I cannot persuade you to prefer friendship and union ■■■ enmity and its ruinous consequences, and ■■■ to become ■■■ benefactor to both sides, rather than the destruction of one, you must take this along with you, and prepare ■■■ expect it, that *you shall not advance against your country, without trampling upon ■■■ body of her that bore you.* For it does ■■■ be- ■■■ me ■■■ wait for that day, when my son ■■■ either ■■■ captive by ■■■ fellow-citizens, or triumph over Roma. If, indeed, I desired you ■■■ your country by ruining the Volscians, I confess the case would be hard, ■■■ the choice difficult ; for it would neither be honourable to destroy your countrymen, nor just to betray those who have placed their confidence in you. But what ■■■ desire of you more than deliverance from our own calamities ? A deliverance which will ■■■ equally salutary to both parties,¹ but most ■■■ the honour of the Volscians, since it will appear that their superiority empowered them ■■■ grant us the greatest of blessings, peace, and friendship, while they themselves receive the same. If these take place, you will be acknowledged to be the principal ■■■ of them ; ■■■ they do not, you alone must expect ■■■ the blame from both nations. And though the chance of ■■■ is uncertain, yet it will be the certain event of this, that ■■■ you conquer, you will be a destroying demon ■■■ your country ; if you are beaten, it will be clear that, by indulging your resentment, you have plunged your friends and benefactors in the greatest of misfortunes."

Coriolanus listened to his mother while she went ■■■ with her speech without saying the least word to her ; and Volumnia, seeing him stand ■■■ long time mute after she had left speaking, proceeded again ■■■ this ■■■ "Why ■■■ you silent, my son ? Is it an honour ■■■ yield everything to anger and resentment, and would it be ■■■ disgrace to yield to your mother in so important a petition ? Or ■■■ it become ■■■ great ■■■ to remember the injuries done him, and would ■■■ equally become a great and good man with the highest regard and ■■■ to keep in mind the benefits ■■■ received from ■■■ parents ? Surely you, of ■■■ men, should take ■■■ ■■■ grateful, who have ■■■ered so extremely by ingratitude. ■■■ yet, though you have already severely punished ■■■ country, you have not made your mother ■■■ least ■■■ for her kindness.

¹ She begged a truce for a year, that in that time measures ■■■ be ■■■ settling a solid and lasting peace.

The ■■■■ sacred ties both of ■■■■ and religion, without any other constraint, require that you should indulge me in this just and reasonable request; but if words cannot prevail, this only ■■■■ left." When she had said this, she threw herself at ■■■■ feet, together with his wife and children; upon which Coriolanus crying out, "O mother! what ■■■■ it you have done?" raised her from the ground, and tenderly pressing her hand, continued, "You have gained ■■■■ victory fortunate for your country, but ruinous to me.¹ I go, vanquished by you alone." Then, after ■■■■ short conference with his mother and wife in private, he ■■■■ them back ■■■■ Rome, agreeably to their desire. Next morning he drew off the Volscians, who had ■■■■ all ■■■■ ■■■■ sentiments of what had passed. Some blamed him; others, whose inclinations were for peace, found no fault; others again, though they disliked what ■■■■ done, did ■■■■ look upon Coriolanus as ■■■■ bad man, but thought he ■■■■ excusable in yielding to such powerful solicitations. However, ■■■■ presumed to contradict his orders, though they followed him rather ■■■■ of veneration for his virtue than regard to his authority.

The sense of the dreadful and dangerous circumstances which the Roman people had been in by reason of the war, never appeared so strong ■■■■ when they were delivered from it. For no sooner did they perceive from the walls that the Volscians ■■■■ drawing off, than all the temples were opened and filled with persons crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice, ■■■■ for some great victory. But in nothing was the public joy more evident than in the affectionate regard and honour which both the senate and people paid the women, whom they both considered and declared the means of their preservation. Nevertheless, when the senate decreed,² that whatever they thought would contribute most to their glory and satisfaction, the consuls should take care to see it done, they only desired that a temple might be built to the FORTUNE ■■■■ WOMEN, the expense of which they offered to defray themselves, requiring the commonwealth to be at ■■■■ other charge than that of sacrifices, and such ■■■■ solemn service ■■■■ was suitable to the majesty of the gods. The senate, though they commended their generosity, ordered the temple and shrine to be erected at the public charge;³ but the ■■■■ contributed their money notwithstanding, and with it provided another image of the goddess, which the Romans report, when it ■■■■ ■■■■ up in the temple, to have uttered these words, O ■■■■ ! MOST ACCEPTABLE TO THE GODS ■■■■ THIS YOUR ■■■■

They fabulously report that ■■■■ voice was repeated twice, thus offering ■■■■ our faith things that appear impossible. Indeed, we will

¹ He well ■■■■ that "the Volscians would never forgive him the favour he did ■■■■

² It was decreed that an encomium of those matrons should be engraven on a ■■■■

³ It was erected in the Latin way, about

four miles from Rome, on the place ■■■■ Veturia ■■■■ ■■■■ obstinacy ■■■■ her son. Valeria, who ■■■■ proposed ■■■■ successful a deputation, was the first priestess of this temple, which was much frequented by ■■■■ Romans, ■■■■

not deny that images may have sweated, may have been covered with tears, and emitted drops like blood. For wood and stone often contract a scurf and mouldiness that produce moisture; and they not only exhibit many different colours themselves, but receive variety of tinctures from the ambient air; at the same time there is a reason why the Deity may not make use of these signs to communicate things to us. It is also very possible that a sound, that of a sigh or a groan may proceed from a statue, by the rupture or violent separation of the parts of the interior; but that an articulate voice and expression so clear, so true, and perfect, should fall from a thing inanimate is out of the bounds of possibility. For neither the soul of man, nor God himself, can utter vocal sounds, and pronounce words without an organised body and parts fitted for utterance. Wherever, then, history relates such things, and bears us down with the testimony of many credible witnesses, we must conclude that some impression not unlike that of a dream influenced the imagination, and produced the belief of a real sensation: as in sleep we seem to hear what we hear not, and to see what we do not see. As for those persons who were possessed with such a strong opinion of religion that they cannot reject anything of this kind, they found their faith on the wonderful and incomprehensible power of God. For there is no manner of resemblance between him and a human being, either in his nature, his wisdom, his power, or his operations. If, therefore, he performs something which we cannot effect, and executes what with us is impossible, there is nothing in this contradictory to reason; since, though he far excels us in everything, yet the dissimilitude and distance between him and us appear most of all in the works which he hath wrought. *But much knowledge of things divine, as Heraclitus affirms, is lost through want of faith.*

When Coriolanus returned, after this expedition, to Antium, Tullus, who both hated and feared him, resolved to assassinate him immediately; being persuaded that, if he missed this, he should not have such another opportunity. First, therefore, he collected and prepared a number of accomplices, and then called upon Coriolanus to divest himself of his authority, and give an account of his conduct to the Volscians. Dreading the consequences of being reduced to a private station, while Tullus, who had a great interest in his countrymen, was in power, he made answer, that if the Volscians required it, he would give up his commission, and otherwise, since he had taken it on their common request, but that he was ready to give an account of his behaviour even then, to the citizens of Antium, who would have him. Hereupon, they assembled, and some of them, who were prepared for it, endeavoured to exasperate the populace against him. But when Coriolanus stood up, the violence of the tumult abated, and he was allowed to speak; the part of the people of Antium, and he were inclined to peace, appearing to hear him with candour, and to pass sentence with equity. Tullus, then afraid that he would make but too good a defence, for he

an eloquent man, and the former advantages which he had procured the nation outweighed the present offence. Nay, the very impeachment was a clear proof of the greatness of the benefits he had conferred upon them. For they would never have thought themselves injured in not conquering Rome, if they had not been near taking it through his means. The conspirators, therefore, judged it prudent not to wait any longer, or to try the multitude; and the boldest of their faction, crying out that a traitor ought not to be heard, or suffered by the Volscians to act the tyrant, and refuse to lay down his authority, rushed upon him in a body, and killed him on the spot; one that was present lifting a hand to defend him. It was soon evident that this was not done with the general approbation; for they assembled from several cities to give his body an honourable burial, and adorned his tomb with arms and spoils, he became a distinguished warrior and general.

When the Romans were informed of his death, they showed signs either of favour or resentment. Only they permitted the women, at their request, to go into mourning for ten months, as they used to do for a father, a son, or a brother; this being the longest term for mourning allowed by Numa Pompilius, as we have mentioned in his Life.

The Volscian affairs soon wanted the abilities of Marcius. For, first of all, in a dispute which they had with the Æqui, their friends and allies, which of the two nations should give a general to their armies, they proceeded to blows, and a number were killed and wounded; and afterwards coming to a battle with the Romans, in which they were defeated, and Tullus, together with the flower of their army, slain, they were forced to accept of very disgraceful conditions of peace, by which they were reduced to the obedience of Rome, and obliged to accept of such terms as the conquerors would allow them.

CAMILLUS.

AMONG many remarkable things related of Furius Camillus, the extraordinary to be this, that though he often in

Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, they stoned him to death.

They dressed him in his general's robes, and his bier was a magnificent bier, which was carried by such young officers as were most distinguished for their martial exploits. His body was borne the spoils he had taken from his enemy, the spoils he had gained, and plans of the cities he had taken. In this order his body was laid on the pile, while several victims were slain in honour to his memory. When the pile was consumed, they gathered up his ashes, which they put in a spot, and erected a magnificent monument there. He was slain in the second year of Olympiad 73

in the 300th year of Rome, and 5 years after his first campaign. According to Livy he died in the flower of his age; but Livy informs us, from Fabius, a very ancient author, that in Livy he was very old; and that in the decline of his life he was wont to say, that "A state of exile was always uncomfortable, but so an old man than another." We cannot, however, find Coriolanus did among the Volscians. If he done so, his counsels would have preserved them from ruin; and Tullus was slain, he would have restored their affairs, and have got them admitted to the rights and privileges of Rome. The same Livy says as the Latins.

■ highest commands, and performed the greatest actions, though he ■ five times chosen dictator, though he triumphed four times, and was styled the *second founder of Rome*, yet he ■ once consul. Perhaps we may discover the reason in the state of the commonwealth at that time: the people then at variance with the senate¹ refused ■ elect consuls, and, instead of them, put the government into the hands of *military tribunes*. Though these acted, indeed, with consular power and authority, yet their administration ■ grievous to the people, because they were more in number. To have the direction of affairs entrusted ■ six persons instead of two, ■ some ease and satisfaction ■ a people that could ■ bear to be dictated to by the nobility. Camillus, then distinguished by his achievements and ■ the height of glory, did ■ choose to be consul against the inclinations of the people, though the *comitia*, or assemblies in which they might have elected consuls, ■ several times held in that period. In all his other commissions, which ■ many and various, he so conducted himself that, if he ■ entrusted with the sole power, he shared it with others, and if he had ■ colleague, the glory ■ his own. The authority seemed to be shared by reason of his great modesty in command, which gave no occasion to envy; and the glory was secured to him by his genius and capacity, in which he was universally allowed ■ have ■ equal.

The Family of the Furii² was not very illustrious before his time; he was the first that raised it to distinction, when ■ served under Posthumius Tabertus in the great battle with the Equi and Volsci. In that action, spurring his ■ before the ranks, he received a wound in the thigh, when, instead of retiring, he plucked the javelin out of the wound, engaged with the bravest of the enemy, and put them to flight.³ For this, among other honours, he ■ appointed censor, an office at that time of great dignity.⁴ There is upon record a very laudable act of his that took place during his office. As the ■ had made many widows, he obliged such of the ■ as lived

1 The old quarrel about the distribution of lands was revived, the people insisting that every citizen should have an equal share. The senate ■ frequently to dissolve the proposal, at last Appian's violence moved, the ■ the college of the ■ the people should be added, as the only remedy against the tyranny of that body; which was accordingly put in execution. The commons, thus disappointed, chose military tribunes, instead of consuls, and sometimes had them all plebeians. Liv. l. iv. c. 41.

2 Furio was the family name. *consul* was an appellation of children of quality ■ administered in ■ temple of some god. ■ Camillus was the first who retained it as a surname.

3 This was ■ the year of Rome 334, when ■ might be ■ or 15 years of age (for in the year of Rome 329 he ■ near 60), though ■ ■ youth

did not use to bear arms sooner than 17. And though Plutarch says that his gallant behaviour at that time procured him the citizenship, yet that was an office which the Romans never conferred upon a young person; and, in fact, Camillus was not chosen till the year of Rome 353.

4 The office of the censor, ■ the time of the republic, was very extensive. They had a power to expel senators from the senate, to decide the knights, and to dissolve the commons from giving their vote in the new militia of the people. But the emperors took the office upon themselves; and as many ■ than others it, it lost its lustre. ■ the very title was lost ■. ■ what Plutarch says, that Camillus, when censor, obliged many of the knights ■ many ■ ■ those who had fallen in the wars, that ■ in pursuance of one of the proposals

Calpurnius was pro tribune pleis.

single, partly by persuasion. ■■■ partly by threatening ■■■ with fines, to marry those widows. Another act of his, which indeed ■■■ absolutely necessary, was, the causing orphans, who before ■■■ exempt from taxes, to contribute to the supplies; ■■■ these ■■■ very large by ■■■ of the continual wars. What ■■■ then most urgent ■■■ the siege of Veii, whose inhabitants some call Venetani. This city was the barrier of Tuscany, and, in the quantity of her ■■■ and number of her military, ■■■ inferior to Rome. Proud of her wealth, her elegance, and luxury, she had maintained with the Romans many long and gallant disputes for glory and for power. But humbled by many signal defeats, the Veientes had then bid adieu ■■■ that ambition; they satisfied themselves with building strong and high walls, and filling the city with provisions, arms, and all kinds of warlike stores; and so they waited for the enemy without fear. The siege ■■■ long, but ■■■ less laborious and troublesome to the besiegers than ■■■ them. For the Romans had long been accustomed to summer campaigns only, and ■■■ winter at home; and then for the first time their officers ordered them to construct forts, to raise strong works about their camp, and to pass the winter as well as summer in the enemy's ■■■.

The seventh year of the war was now almost passed, when the generals began to be blamed; and as it was thought they showed not sufficient vigour in the siege,¹ they were superseded, and others put in their room; among whom was Camillus, then appointed tribune the second time. He was not, however, at present concerned in the siege, for it ■■■ his lot to head the expedition against the Falisci and Capenates, who, while the Romans were otherwise employed, committed great depredations in their country, and harassed them during the whole Tuscan war. But Camillus, falling upon them, ■■■ great numbers, and shut up the ■■■ within their walls.

During the heat of the war, a phenomenon appeared in the Alban lake, which might be reckoned amongst the strangest prodigies; and, ■■■ no ■■■ natural cause could be assigned for it, it occasioned great consternation. The ■■■ now declining, and the ■■■ by no ■■■ rainy, nor remarkable for south winds. Of the many springs, brooks, and lakes, which Italy abounds with, ■■■ dried up, and others but feebly resisted the drought; the rivers, always low in the summer, then ran with a very slender ■■■ But the Alban lake, which has its ■■■ within itself, and

1 OF THE ■■■ military ■■■ of that year, only two, L. Virginus ■■■ M. Manius Sergius, carried on the siege of Veii. Sergius commanded ■■■ attack, and Virginus covered the siege. While the army was thus divided, the Falisci and Capenates fell upon Sergius, and, at the same time, the besieged sallied out, attacked him on the other ■■■. The Romans

under ■■■ command, thinking they had all the forces of Hetruria to deal with, began to lose courage and retire. Virginus could have ■■■ ■■■ colleague's troops, but as Sergius was too ■■■ to send to him ■■■ succour, he resolved ■■■ to give him any. The ■■■, therefore, made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans in their camp. ■■■. lib. v. c. 8.

discharges no part of its water, being quite surrounded with [] tains, without any cause, unless it was a supernatural one, began [] rise and swell in a most remarkable manner, increasing till [] reached the sides, and at last the very tops of the hills, all which happened without any agitation of its waters. For awhile [] the wonder of the shepherds and herdsmen; but when the earth, which like a mole, kept it from overflowing the country below, [] broken down with the quantity and weight of water, then descending like [] torrent through the ploughed fields and other cultivated grounds [] the sea, [] not only astonished the Romans, but [] thought by all Italy to portend [] extraordinary event. It [] the great subject of conversation in the camp before Veii, so that it [] last [] be known [] the besieged.

As in the [] of long sieges there is usually [] conversation with the enemy, it happened that a Roman soldier formed [] acquaintance with [] of the townsmen, a man versed in ancient traditions, and supposed to be [] than ordinarily [] divination. The Roman perceiving that he expressed great satisfaction at the story of the lake, and thereupon laughed at the siege, told him, "This was not the only wonder the times had produced, but other prodigies still stranger than this had happened to the Romans; which he should be glad to communicate [] him, if by that means he could provide for his [] safety in the midst of the public ruin." The man readily hearkening to the proposal, came out [] him, expecting to hear [] secret, and the Roman continued the discourse, drawing him forward by degrees, till they were at [] distance from the gates. Then he snatched him up in his arms, and by his superior strength held him till, with the assistance of several soldiers from the camp, he was secured and carried before the generals. The man reduced [] this necessity, and knowing that destiny cannot [] avoided, declared the secret oracles concerning his own country, "That the city could never be taken, till the waters of the Alban lake, which had [] forsaken their bed, and found new passages, were turned back, or [] diverted [] to prevent their mixing with the sea."¹

The senate, informed of this prediction, and deliberating upon it, were of opinion [] would be best to send [] Delphi to consult the oracle. They chose for this purpose three persons of honour and distinction, Lucinius Cossus, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius Ambustus; who, having had a prosperous voyage, and consulted Apollo, returned with this among other answers, "That they had neglected some ceremonies in the Latin feast."² As to the water of the Alban lake, they were ordered, if possible, to shut [] up in its ancient bed; or, if that could [] be effected, [] dig canals and trenches for it, till it lost itself on the land. Agreeably [] this

[] prophecy, according to Livy (l. v. c. 15) was this, *I est autem necesse haberi tunc*

[] of the lake of Alban.

² *Flamine scilicet* [] by []

quid the Froed. The [] in them; [] all [] people [] was to attend [], and [] partake [] bull them [] to Jupiter.

direction, the priests [] employed in offering sacrifices, and the people in labour [] turn the course of the water.

In the tenth year of the siege, the senate removed the other magistrates, and appointed Camillus dictator, who made choice of Cornelius Scipio for his general of horse. In the first place he made [] to the gods, if they favoured him with putting [] glorious period to the war, [] celebrate the great circensian games to their honour,² and [] consecrate the temple of the goddess, whom the Romans call *the mother Matuta*. By her sacred rites [] may suppose this last to be the goddess Leucothea. For they take a female slave into the inner part of the temple,³ where they beat her, and then drive her out; they carry their brother's children in their arms instead of their own;⁴ and they represent in the ceremonies of the sacrifice all that happened to the [] of Bacchus, and what Ino suffered for having saved the [] of Juno's rival.

After these vows, Camillus penetrated into the country of the Falisci, and in a great battle overthrew them and their auxiliaries the Capenates. Then he turned to the siege of Veii; and perceiving it would be both difficult and dangerous to endeavour to take it by assault, he ordered mines to be dug, the soil about the city being easy to work, and admitting of depth enough for the works to be carried on [] by the enemy. As this succeeded to his wish, he made an assault without, [] call the enemy to the walls; and, in the meantime, others of his soldiers made their way through the mines, and secretly penetrated to Juno's temple in the citadel. This was the most considerable temple in the city; and we are told that [] that instant the Tuscan general happened to be sacrificing; when the soothsayer, upon inspection of the entrails, cried out, "The gods promise victory to him that shall finish this sacrifice;"⁵ the Romans who were under ground, hearing what he said, immediately removed the pavement, and came out with loud shouts and clashing their arms, which struck the enemy with such terror that they fled, and left the entrails, which [] carried to Camillus. But perhaps this has [] of the air of fable than of history.

The city thus taken by the Romans, sword in hand, while they were busy in plundering it and carrying off its immense riches, Camillus beholding from the citadel what was done, [] first burst into tears; and when those about him began to magnify his happiness, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and uttered this prayer: "Great Jupiter, and ye gods that have the inspection []

¹ This wonder [] relates to this day, and the waters [] lake Albano run thence []

² These [] kind [] tournament [] great []

³ Leucothea [] Ino was jealous of one of her female slaves who was the favourite of [] married Athamas []

⁴ Ino was a very unhappy mother; for she had seen her [] Leucius slain by her husband, who [] himself [] the sea [] her other [] Melicertes []

But she [] a more fortunate aunt, having preferred Bacchus [] [] [] []

⁵ Words spoken by [] unconcerned in their affairs, and [] a quite different subject, was interpreted by the Heathens as good or bad omens, if they happened to be any way applicable [] their [] And they took great pains to fulfil the omen, if they thought it fortunate; as well as to [] it, if it appeared unlucky []

■ good and evil actions, ye know that the Romans, ■ without
 ■ cause, but in their ■ defence, and constrained by necessity,
 have made ■ against this city, and their enemies its unjust inha-
 bitants. *If we must have some misfortune in lieu of this success, I*
entreat that it may fall, not upon Rome or the Roman army, but
*upon myself; yet lay not, ye gods, a heavy hand upon me!*¹ Having
 pronounced these words, he turned to the right, ■ ■ ■
 of the Romans is after prayer and supplication, but fell
 in turning. His friends that were by expressed great uneasiness
 at the accident, but he ■ recovered himself from the fall, and
 told them, "It was only a small inconvenience after great success,
 agreeable to ■ prayer."²

After the city ■ pillaged, he determined, pursuant to his vow,
 to remove this statue of Juno to Rome. The workmen ■ ■ ■
 assembled for the purpose, and he offered sacrifice ■ the goddess,
 "Beseeching her ■ accept of their homage, and graciously ■ take
 ■ her abode among the gods of Rome." To which, it is said, the
 ■ ■ ■ softly answered, "She was willing and ready to do it." But
 Livy says, Camillus, in offering up his petition, touched the image
 of the goddess, and entreated her ■ go with them, and that ■
 of the standers by answered, "She consented, and would willingly
 follow them." Those that support and defend the miracle have
 the fortune of Rome on their side, which could never have risen from
 such small and contemptible beginnings to that height of glory and
 empire without the constant assis- ■ of some god, who favoured
 them with many considerable tokens of his presence. Several
 miracles of a similar nature are also alleged; as, that images have
 often sweated; that they have been heard to groan; and that
 sometimes they have turned from their votaries, and shut their
 eyes. Many such accounts we have from our ancients; and not a
 few persons of ■ own times have given us wonderful relations,
 not unworthy of notice. But to give entire credit ■ them ■ alto-
 gether to disbelieve them is equally dangerous, on account of
 human weakness. We keep ■ always within the bounds of reason,
 ■ ■ masters of our minds. Sometimes ■ fall into vain super-
 stition, and sometimes into an impious neglect of ■ religion. It
 is best to ■ cautious, and ■ avoid extremes.³

Whether it was that Camillus was elated with ■ great exploit
 in taking ■ city that ■ the rival of Rome, after ■ had been be-
 sieged ■ years, or that he was misled by ■ flatterers, ■ took

¹ Livy, who has given us this prayer, has not qualified it with that modification so unworthy of Camillus, may it be with as little detriment as possible to myself. On the contrary, he says, *ut cum turribus lenire suo privato incommodo, quam ven- tibus publico populi Romani ferret.* Camillus prayed, that, *if this success must have an equivalent in some ensuing misfortune, first misfortune might fall upon Annus,* and the Roman people escape with as little detriment as possible. This was great and

■ ■ ■ Plutarch having but an imperfect knowledge of the Roman language, probably mistook the sense.

² Livy tells us, ■ was conjectured from the event, that this fall of Camillus was a promise of his condemnation and banishment.

³ The great Mr. Addison seems ■ have had this passage of Plutarch when he delivered his opinion ■ the doctrine of witchcraft.

upon him too much state for a magistrate subject to the laws and usages of his country ; for his triumph was conducted with excessive pomp, and he rode through Rome ■ ■ chariot drawn by four white horses, which ■ general ever did before or after him. Indeed, this sort of carriage is esteemed sacred, and is appropriated to the king and father of the gods.¹ The citizens, therefore, considered this unusual appearance of grandeur as an insult upon them. Besides, they were offended at his opposing the law by which the city ■ to be divided. For their tribunes had proposed that the senate and people should be divided into ■ equal parts ; ■ part to remain at Rome, and the other, ■ the lot happened to fall, ■ remove ■ the conquered city, by which means they would not only have more room, but, by being in possession of two considerable cities, be better able ■ defend their territories, and to watch ■ their prosperity. The people, who ■ very numerous, and enriched by the late plunder, constantly assembled in the *forum*, and in ■ tumultuous ■ demanded to have it put to the vote. But the ■ and other principal citizens considered this proposal of the tribunes not ■ much the dividing as the destroying of Rome,² and in their uneasiness applied ■ Camillus. Camillus was afraid to put it to the trial, and therefore invented demurs and pretences of delay, to prevent the bill being offered to the people ; by which he incurred their displeasure.

But the greatest and most manifest cause of their hatred ■ his behaviour with respect to the tenths of the spoils ; and if the resentment of the people was ■ in this case altogether just, yet it had some show of reason. It seems he made a vow, as he marched to Veii, that if he took the city, he would consecrate the tenths to Apollo. But when the city was taken, and came to be pillaged, he ■ either unwilling to interrupt his men, ■ in the hurry had forgot his vow, and so gave up the whole plunder ■ them. After he had resigned his dictatorship, he laid the ■ before the senate ; and the soothsayers declared, that the sacrifices announced the anger of the gods, which ought to be appeased by offerings expressive of their gratitude for the favours they had received. The ■ then made a decree, that the plunder should remain with the soldiers (for they knew not how ■ manage it otherwise) ; but that each should produce, upon oath, the tenth of the value of what he had got. This was a great hardship upon the soldiers ; and those poor fellows could not without force be brought to refund ■ large a portion of the fruit of their labours, and to make good ■ only what they had hardly earned, but now actually spent. Camillus, distressed with their complaints, for want of a better excuse, made use of a very absurd apology, by acknowledging ■ forgotten his ■ This they greatly resented, that having then vowed ■ tenths of ■ enemy's goods, ■ should ■ the tenths of ■

1 ■ likewise coloured his face with vermilion, the colour with which the statues of the gods were commonly painted.

2 They feared that two such cities would

degrade become ■ ■ which, after a destructive war with each other, would at length fall a ■ to their common enemies.

citizens. However, they all produced their proportion, and was resolved that a vase of massy gold should be made and sent to Delphi. But there was a scarcity of gold in the city, the magistrates considering how to procure it, the Roman senators met, and having consulted among themselves, gave up their golden ornaments, which weighed eight talents, offering the god. And the senate, in honour of their piety, decreed that they should have funeral orations well the men, which had not been the custom before.¹ They then sent three of the chief nobility ambassadors, in a large ship, well manned, and fitted in a becoming solemn occasion.

In this voyage, they were equally endangered by a storm and a calm, but escaped beyond all expectation, when ■ the brink of destruction. For the wind slackening ■ the Æolian islands, the galleys of the Lipareans ga ■ them chase as pirates. Upon their stretching out their hands for mercy, the Lipareans used ■ violence ■ their persons, but towed the ship into harbour, and there exposed both them and their goods to sale, having first adjudged them to be lawful prize. With much difficulty, however, they were prevailed upon to release them, out of regard to the merit and authority of Timesitheus the chief magistrate of the place ; who, moreover, conveyed them with his own vessels, and assisted ■ dedicating the gift. For this suitable honours were paid him at Rome.

And now the tribunes of the people attempted to bring the law for removing part of the citizens ■■■ Veii once more upon the carpet ; but the war with the Falisci very seasonably intervening, put the management of the elections in the hands of the patricians ; and they nominated Camillus a *military tribune*,³ together with five others ; as affairs then required ■■■ general of considerable dignity, reputation, and experience. When the people had confirmed this nomination, Camillus marched ■■■ forces into the country of the Falisci, and laid siege ■■■ Falerii, a city well fortified, and provided in all respects for the ■■■ He was sensible it ■■■ like to be ■■■ easy affair, ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ despatched, and this was one ■■■ for his engaging in it ; for he ■■■ desirous to keep the citizens employed abroad, that they might not have leisure to sit down at home and raise tumults and seditions. This was, indeed, ■■■ remedy which the Romans always had ■■■ to, like good physicians, to expel dangerous humours from the body politic.

The Falerians, trusting to the fortifications with which they surrounded, made so little account of the siege that the inhabitants, except those who guarded the walls, walked the streets in their

1 The matrons had the value of the gold
 2 [redacted] them: and it was not on this occasion,
 3 but afterwards, [redacted] they contributed
 4 their gold [redacted] [redacted] make up the
 5 sum demanded by the Gauls, that funeral
 6 orations were granted them. The privilege
 7 they were now [redacted] with, was leave

to ride in chariots at the public games and sacrifices, and in open carriages, of a less honorable sort, on other occasions, in the streets.

² The year of Rome 351. Camillus was then military tribune the third time.

■■■ habits. The boys too went to school, and the ■■■ took them ■■■ walk and exercise about ■■■ walls. *For the Falerians, like the Greeks, chase ■■■ have their children bred at ■■■ public school, that ■■■ might betimes be accustomed to the ■■■ discipline, and form th■■■ to friendship and society.*

This schoolmaster, then, designing to betray ■■■ Falerians by means of their children, took them every day out ■■■ city ■■■ exercise, keeping pretty close to the walls ■■■ first, and when their exercise ■■■ over, led them in again. By degrees ■■■ took them out farther, accustoming them ■■■ divert themselves freely, as ■■■ they had nothing ■■■ fear. At last, having got them all together, he brought them to the Roman advanced guard, and delivered them up ■■■ be carried to Camillus. ■■■ he ■■■ into his presence, he said, "He ■■■ the schoolmaster of Falerii, but preferring his favour ■■■ the obligations of duty, he came ■■■ deliver up those children ■■■ him, and in them the whole city." This action appeared very shocking ■■■ Camillus, and he said to those that ■■■ by, "War (at best) ■■■ savage thing, and wades through ■■■ of violence and injustice; yet ■■■ war itself has its laws, which ■■■ of honour will not depart from; nor do they so pursue victory, ■■■ avail themselves of acts of villany and baseness. For ■■■ great general should only rely ■■■ his ■■■ virtue, and not upon the treachery of others." Then he ordered the lictors to tear off the wretch's clothes, to tie his hands behind him, and furnish the boys with rods and scourges, ■■■ punish the traitor, and whip him into the city. By this ■■■ the Falerians had discovered the schoolmaster's treason; ■■■ city, ■■■ might be expected, was ■■■ of lamentations for so great a loss, and the principal inhabitants, both ■■■ and women, crowded about the walls and the gate like persons distracted. In the midst of this disorder they espied the boys whipping on their master, naked and bound, and calling Camillus their god, their deliverer, their father. Not only the parents of those children, but all the citizens in general ■■■ struck with admiration ■■■ the spectacle, and conceived such ■■■ affection for the justice of Camillus, that they immediately assembled in council, and ■■■ deputies ■■■ render ■■■ him both themselves and their city.

Camillus ■■■ them ■■■ Rome; and when they ■■■ introduced to the senate, they said, "The Romans, in preferring justice ■■■ conquest, have taught ■■■ be satisfied with submission instead of liberty. At the ■■■ time, we declare we do not think ourselves ■■■ much beneath you in strength as inferior in virtue." The ■■■ referred ■■■ disquisition and settling of the articles of ■■■ ■■■ Camillus; who contented himself with taking a ■■■ of ■■■cy of ■■■ Falerians, and having entered into alliance with the whole nation of ■■■ Falisci, returned to Rome.

■■■ the soldiers, who expected to have had the plundering of ■■■, ■■■ they ■■■ back empty-handed, ■■■d Camillus ■■■ fellow-citizens ■■■ an enemy to the ■■■, and one that maliciously opposed the interest ■■■ the poor. And when ■■■ tribunes again proposed the ■■■ ■■■ transplanting part of ■■■

citizens ■ Veii,¹ and summoned the people to give their votes, Camillus spoke very freely, or rather with much asperity against it, appearing remarkably violent in his opposition to the people ; who, therefore, lost their bill, but harboured a strong resentment against Camillus. Even the misfortune ■ had in his family, of losing ■ of his sons, did not in the least mitigate their rage ; though, ■ a man of great goodness and tenderness of heart, he ■ inconsolable for ■ loss, and *shut himself up at home, ■ close ■ with the women*, at the ■ time that they were lodging ■ impeachment against him.

His ■ Lucius Apulcius, who brought against him ■ charge of fraud with respect ■ the Tuscan spoils ; and ■ was alleged that certain brass gates, ■ part of those spoils, ■ found with him. The people were ■ much exasperated that it was plain they would lay hold ■ any pretext ■ condemn him. He, therefore, assembled his friends, his colleagues, and fellow-soldiers, ■ great number in all, and begged of them ■ suffer him to ■ crushed by false and unjust accusations, and exposed to the scorn of his enemies. When they had consulted together, and fully considered the affair, the answer they gave was, that they did not believe it in their power to prevent the sentence, but they would willingly assist him to pay the fine that might be laid upon him. He could not, however, bear the thoughts of so great ■ indignity, and giving way to his resentment, determined ■ quit the city as a voluntary exile. Having taken leave of his wife and children, he went in silence from his house to the gate of the city.² There he made a stand, and turning about, stretched out his hands towards the Capitol, and prayed to the gods, " That if he was driven out without any fault of his own, and merely by the violence or envy of the people, the Romans might quickly repent it, and express to all the world their want of Camillus, and their regret for his absence."

When he had thus, like Achilles, uttered his imprecations against his countrymen, he departed ; and leaving his ■ undefended, he ■ condemned ■ pay ■ fine of 15,000 *ases* ; which, reduced to Grecian money, is 1500 *drachmas* : for the ■ is ■ small coin that is the tenth part of ■ piece of silver, which for that ■ is called *denarius*, and ■ our *drachm*. There is not ■ Rome who does ■ believe that these imprecations of Camillus had their effect ; though the punishment of his countrymen for their injustice proved no ways agreeable to him, but on the contrary matter of grief. Yet how great, how memorable ■ that punishment ! how remarkably did vengeance pursue the Romans ! what danger, destruction, and disgrace, did those times bring upon the city !

1 ■ jurisdiction ■ It against the bill, only by a majority of one tribe. ■ now they were so well pleased with the people, that the very next ■ a decree was passed, restoring six acres of the lands of Veii, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free con-

dition ■ the other hand, the people, delighted ■ this liberality, allowed the electing of consuls ■ of military tribunes.

2 This was four years after the taking of Veii.

Lucumo,¹ the greatest fortune of the country, celebrated for beauty. Aruns brought him from a boy, and when grown up, he still continued at his house, upon a pretence of enjoying conversation. Meanwhile he corrupted his guardian's wife, or she had corrupted him, and for a long time the criminal commerce was carried on undiscovered. At length their passion becoming violent that they could neither restrain nor conceal it, the young man carried her off, and attempted to keep her openly. The husband endeavoured to find his redress at law, but was disappointed by the superior interest and wealth of Lucumo. He therefore quitted his country, and having heard of the enterprising spirit of the Gauls, went to them, and conducted their armies into Italy.

In their first expedition they soon possessed themselves of that country which stretches out from the Alps to both seas. That this of old belonged to the Tuscans, the Gauls themselves are a proof; for the sea which lies to the north is called the Adriatic from a Tuscan city named Adria, and that on the other side to the south is called the Tuscan Sea. All that country is well planted with trees, has excellent pastures, and is well watered with rivers. It contained eighteen considerable cities, whose manufactures and trade procure them the gratifications of luxury. The Gauls expelled the Tuscans, and made themselves masters of these cities.

The Gauls were now besieging Clusium, a city of Tuscan. The Clusians applied to the Romans, entreating them to send ambassadors and letters to the barbarians. Accordingly they sent three illustrious persons of the Fabian family, who had borne the highest employments in the state. The Gauls received them courteously on account of the name of Rome, and putting a stop to their operations against the town, came to a conference. But when they were asked what injury they had received from the Clusians that they came against their city, Brennus, king of the Gauls, smiled and said, "The injury the Clusians do us, is their keeping to themselves a large tract of ground, when they can only cultivate a small one, and refusing to give up a part of it to us who are strangers, numerous and poor. In the same manner you Romans injured formerly by the Albans, the Fidenates, and the Ardeates, and lately by the people of Veii and Capena, and the greatest part of the Falisci and the Volsci. Upon these you make laws; if they refuse to comply with you their goods, you enslave their persons, lay waste their country, and demolish their cities. Now your proceedings dishonourable or unjust; for you follow the most ancient of laws, which directs the weak to obey the strong, from the Creator even to the irrational part of the creation, that he taught by example to make use of the advantage their strength affords them against the feeble. Cense then to express your compassion for the Clusians, you

¹ Lucumo was not the name but the title of the young man. He was Lord of a

Lucumony. Letratia was a principality called Lucumoniae.

teach ■■■ Gauls in their turn to commiserate those that have been oppressed by ■■■ Romans.²

By this ■■■ the Romans clearly perceived that Brennus would come to no terms; and therefore they went into Clusium, where they encouraged and animated the inhabitants to a sally against the barbarians, either ■■■ make trial of the strength of the Clusians, ■■■ to show their ■■■ The Clusians made the sally, and ■■■ sharp conflict ensued ■■■ the walls, when Quintus Ambustus, one of the Fabii, spurred his horse against a Gaul of extraordinary size and figure, who had advanced ■■■ good ■■■ before the ranks. At first he was not known, because the ■■■ hot, and his ■■■ dazzled the eyes of the beholders; but when he had ■■■ and killed ■■■ Gaul, and came ■■■ despoil him of his arms, Brennus knew him, ■■■ called the gods to witness, "That against ■■■ the laws and ■■■ of mankind which ■■■ esteemed the most sacred and inviolable, *Ambustus* ■■■ ■■■ ambassador, but acted ■■■ an enemy." He drew off his men directly, and bidding the Clusians farewell, led ■■■ army towards Rome. But that he might not ■■■ rejoice that such ■■■ affront ■■■ offered, or to have wanted ■■■ pretext for hostilities, he sent to demand the offender in order to punish him, and in the mean time advanced but slowly.

The herald being arrived, the senate was assembled, and many spoke against the Fabii; particularly the priests called *faciles* represented the ■■■ as an offence against religion, and adjured the senate to lay the whole guilt and the expiation of it upon the person who alone was to blame, and so ■■■ the wrath of Heaven from the rest of the Romans. These *faciles* were appointed by Numa, the mildest and justest of kings, conservators of peace, ■■■ well as judges to give sanction ■■■ the just causes of war. The senate referred the ■■■ to the people, and the priests accused Fabius with the same ardour before them, but such was the disregard they ■■■ pressed for their persons, and such their contempt of religion, that they constituted that very Fabius and his brethren *military tribunes*.³

As soon ■■■ the Gauls ■■■ informed of this, they ■■■ greatly enraged, and would ■■■ longer delay their march, but hastened forward with the ■■■ celerity. Their prodigious numbers, their glittering arms, their fury and impetuosity, struck terror wherever they ■■■; the people gave up their lands for lost, ■■■ doubting but the cities would ■■■ follow: however, what ■■■ beyond all expectation, *they injured ■■■ man's property; they neither pillaged the fields ■■■ insulted the cities; and as they passed by, they cried out, "They ■■■ going ■■■ Rome, they were ■■■ with the Romans only, and considered all others ■■■ their friends."*

While ■■■ barbarians ■■■ going forward in this impetuous manner, ■■■ tribunes led out ■■■ forces to battle, ■■■ inferior⁴ (for they consisted of 40,000 foot), but ■■■ greatest part

² The year of Rome 308 or 305.

³ They were inferior in number; for the Gauls were 70,000; and, therefore, the Gauls, ■■■ they came to action, were

obliged to extend their wings ■■■ to ■■■ their centre very thin, which was one reason of their being soon broken.

undisciplined, and such ■■■ never handled a weapon before. Besides, they paid no attention ■ religion, having neither propitiated ■ gods by sacrifice, ■ consulted the soothsayers as was their duty in time of danger, and before ■ engagement. Another thing which occasioned no ■■ confusion ■■ the number of persons joined in the command; whereas before, they ■■ often appointed for ■■ of less consideration ■ single leader, whom they call *dictator*, sensible of how great consequence it is ■ good order and success, ■ a dangerous crisis, to be actuated ■ it ■■ with ■■ soul, and ■ have the absolute command invested in one person. Their ungrateful ■■ of Camillus, too, ■■ not the least ■■ happy circumstance; ■ it now appeared dangerous for ■■ generals to use their authority without some flattering indulgence ■ the people.

In this condition they marched out of the city, and encamped about 11 miles from it, on the banks of the river Allia, ■■ far from its confluence with the Tiber. There the barbarians came upon them, and ■ the Romans engaged in ■ disorderly manner, they were shamefully beaten and put ■ flight. Their ■■ wing was soon pushed into the river, and there destroyed. The right wing, which quitted the field to avoid the charge, and gained the hills, did not suffer so much; many of them escaping to Rome. The ■■ that survived the carnage, when the enemy were satiated ■■ blood, stole by night to Veii, concluding that R ■■ was lost, and its inhabitants put ■ the sword.

This battle ■■ fought when the moon was ■ full, about the summer solstice, the very ■■ day (July 16) that the slaughter of the Fabii happened long before, when 300 of them ■■ cut off ■ the Tuscans. The second misfortune, however, so much effaced the memory of the first, that the day is still called the *day of Allia*, from ■■ river of that name.

As ■■ point, whether there ■■ lucky ■■ unlucky days,¹ and whether Heraclitus ■■ right in blaming Hesiod for distinguishing them into fortunate and unfortunate, it may not be amiss ■ mention a few examples. The Boeotians, on the ■■ of the month which they call *Hippodromius* and the Athenians *Hecatombeon* [July] gained two signal victories, both of which restored liberty ■ Greece; the ■■ ■ Leuctra; the other ■ Gerastus, above 200 years before,² when they defeated Lattamyas and the Thessalians. On the other hand, the Persians ■■ beaten by the Greeks ■ the sixth of *Boedromion* [Sept.] at Marathon, on the third ■ Platea, as also Mycale, and ■ the twenty-sixth ■ Arbeli. About the full

¹ ■■ deemed some days lucky and others unlucky, either from some occult power which they supposed to be in numbers, or from the nature of the deities who presided over them, or else from observation of seasons or seasons having often happened on particular days.

² The ■■ the command

of Lattamyas were beaten by the Boeotians not long before the battle of Thermopylae, and little more than 100 years before the battle of Leuctra. There is also an error here in the name of the place. ■■ of Gerastus, we should read Gerastus; the former was a promontory in Euboea, the latter was a fort in ■■

[] of the [] month, the Athenians, under [] conduct [] Chabrias, [] victorious in the sea-fight [] Naxos, and [] the twentieth they gained the victory of Salamis. The month *Thargelion* [May] [] also remarkably unfortunate to the barbarians; for in that month Alexander defeated the king of Persia's generals [] the Granicus; and the Carthaginians were beaten by Timoleon in Sicily on the twenty-fourth of the same; a day still [] markable (according to Ephorus, Callisthenes, Demaster, and Phylarchus) for the taking of Troy. On the contrary, the month *Mesagitnion* [August] which [] Boeotians call *Panemus*, [] very unlucky to [] Greeks; for on the seventh they [] beaten by Antipater in the battle of Cranon and utterly ruined, and before that, they [] defeated by Philip at Charonea. And [] that [] day, month, and year, the troops which under Archidamus [] a descent upon Italy, [] [] pieces by the barbarians. The Carthaginians have [] a mark upon the twenty-second of that month, [] a day that has always brought upon them the g [] calamities. At the [] time I [] not ignorant that [] the time of the celebration of the *mysterics*, Thebes was demolished by Alexander; and after that, on the same twentieth of *Boedromion* [Sept.] a day sacred to the solemnities of Bacchus, the Athenians were obliged [] receive a Macedonian garrison. On one and the same day the Romans, under the command of Cæpio, were stripped of their camp by the Cimbri, and afterwards under Lucullus [] quered Tigranes and the Armenians. King Attalus and Pompey the Great both died on their birth days. And I could give account of many others who on the same day at different periods have experienced both good and bad fortune. Be that as it may, the Romans marked the day of their defeat [] Allia [] unfortunate; and [] superstitious fears generally increase upon a misfortune, they not only distinguished that [] such, but the two [] that follow it in every month throughout the year.

If after [] decisive [] battle the Gauls had immediately pursued the fugitives, there would have been nothing to hinder the entire destruction of Rome and all that remained in it; with such terror was the city struck at the return of those that escaped from the battle, and [] filled with confusion and distraction! But the Gauls, not imagining the victory to be so great as it was, in the [] of their joy indulged themselves in good cheer, and shared the plunder of [] [] by which [] numbers that were for leaving the city had leisure to escape, and those that remained had time to recollect themselves and prepare for their defence. For, quitting the [] of the city, they retired [] Capitol, which they fortified with strong ramparts and provided well with arms. But their first [] [] of their holy things, [] of which they conveyed into the Capitol. As for the sacred fire, the *vestal virgins* took it up, [] with other holy relics, and [] away with it; though some will have it, that they have not the charge of anything but that *everliving* fire which Numa appointed to [] worshipped as [] principle of [] things. It is indeed the most active thing in nature []

and all generation either is motion or, at least, with motion. Other parts of matter, when the [] fails, [] sluggish and dead, and [] the force of fire [] informing soul ; [] when that comes they acquire [] active or passive quality. Hence it was that Numa, [] man curious in his researches into nature, and on [] of his wisdom supposed to have conversed with the muses, [] crated this fire, and ordered it [] be perpetually kept up, [] image of [] eternal Power which preserves and [] the universe. Others say, that according to the usage of the Greeks, the fire is kept [] burning before the holy places, as [] emblem of purity ; but [] there [] other things in the [] secret p[] of [] temple, kept from the sight of all but those virgins [] they [] *vestals* ; and the [] current opinion is, [] *palladium* of Troy, which *Aeneas* brought into Italy, [] laid up there.

Others say, [] Samothracian gods [] there concealed ; whom *Dardanus*,¹ after he [] built Troy, brought to that city and caused [] be worshipped ; and that after the taking of Troy, *Aeneas* privately carried them off, and kept them till he settled [] Italy. But those that pretend [] know most about these matters say, there [] placed there two casks of a moderate size, the [] open and empty, the other full and sealed up, but neither of them to be seen by any but those holy virgins. Others, again, think this is all [] mistake, which [] from their putting [] of their sacred utensils in two casks, and hiding them under ground in the temple of *Quirinus*, and that the place from those casks is still called *Doliola*.

They []k, however, with them the choicest and most sacred things they had, and fled with them along the side of the river ; where *Lucius Albinus*, a plebeian, among others that were making their escape, [] carrying his wife and children and [] of his most necessary moveables [] a waggon. But when he saw the *vestals* in a helpless and weary condition, carrying in their [] the sacred symbols of the gods, he immediately took [] his family and goods, and put the virgins in the waggon, that they might make their escape [] of the Grecian cities.² This piety of *Albinus*, and the veneration [] expressed for the gods [] dangerous [] juncture, deserve to [] recorded.

As for the other priests, and the most ancient of the [] that were of consular dignity, or had been honoured with triumphs, they could [] bear [] think of quitting the city. They, therefore, put on their holy [] and robes of state, and, in a form dictated

¹ *Dardanus*, who flourished in the time of [] B.C. 1480, is [] he have been originally of *Arceadia*, [] he passed to *Samos*. Afterward he married *Phoebe* or *Arista* the daughter of [] of *Phrygia*. Of the *Samothracian* [] may add from *Macrobius*, that *Lucius magus*, which *Dardanus* brought from *Samothrace*, were the *penates*, or household gods, [] afterwards [] into Italy. *Strabo* of *Halicarnassus* says, [] had even the

penates in an old temple at Rome. They were of antique workmanship, representing two young men sitting, and holding each a lance in his hand, and had for their inscription *DEMUS*, instead of *PENAS*.

² *Albinus* conducted them to *Cære*, a city of *Etruria*, where [] met with a favourable reception. [] remained a considerable time at [] there performed the usual rites of religion ; and hence those rites were called *Cæremonies*.

and killed him. After this, the Gauls upon the rest and slew them, and continuing their rage, despatched all that came in their way. Then for many days together they pillaged the houses and carried off the spoil; at last they set fire to the city, and demolished what escaped the flames, to express their irritation against those in the Capitol, who obeyed their summons, but made a vigorous defence, and greatly annoyed the besiegers from the walls. This that provoked them to destroy the whole city, and dispatch that into their hands, without sparing either sex or age.

As by the length of the siege provisions began to fail the Gauls, they divided their forces, and part stayed with the king before that fortress, while part foraged the country, and laid waste the towns and villages. Their success had inspired them with such confidence, that they did not keep in a body, but carelessly wandered about in different troops and parties. It happened that the largest and best disciplined corps went against Ardea, where Camillus, since his exile, lived in absolute retirement. This great event, however, awakened him into action, and his mind was employed in contriving, not how to keep himself concealed and to avoid the Gauls, but, if opportunity should offer, to attack and conquer them. Perceiving that the Ardeans were not deficient in numbers, but in courage and discipline, which was owing to the inexperience and inactivity of their officers, he applied first to the young men, and told them, "They ought not to ascribe the defeat of the Romans to the valour of the Gauls, but to consider the calamities they had suffered in the midst of their insatiation, brought upon them by men who, in fact, could not claim the merit of the victory but as the work of fortune. That would be glorious, though they risked something by it to repel a foreign and barbarous enemy, whose end in conquering was, like fire, to destroy what they subdued: but that if they would with a proper spirit, he would give them an opportunity to conquer without any hazard at all." When he found the young men pleased with his discourse, he went next to the magistrates and senate of Ardea; and having persuaded them also to adopt his scheme, he armed those that were of a proper age for it, and drew them up within the walls, that the enemy who but at a small distance, might not know what he was about.

The Gauls having scoured the country, and loaded themselves with plunder, encamped upon the plains in a careless and disorderly manner. Night found them intoxicated with wine, and silence reigned in the camp. As Camillus informed of this by his spies, he led the Ardeans out, and having passed the intermediate space without noise, he reached their camp about midnight. Then he ordered a shout to be given, and the trumpets sound on all sides, to cause the greater confusion: but it with difficulty they recovered themselves from their sleep and intoxication. A few, whom fear had made sober, snatched up their arms to oppose Camillus, and with their weapons in their hands: but the greatest part of them, buried in sleep and wine, were

surprised unarmed, and easily despatched. A small number, that in the night escaped out of the camp, and wandered ■ the fields, ■ picked up ■ day by the cavalry, and put ■ the sword.

The fame of this action, soon reaching the neighbouring cities, drew ■ many of their ablest warriors. Particularly such of the Romans as had escaped from the battle of Allia ■ Veii, lamented with themselves in some such manner ■ this, "What a general has Heaven taken from Rome in Camillus, ■ adorn the Ardeans with ■ exploits? while the city which produced and brought up ■ great a man is absolutely ruined. And we, for want of ■ leader, sit idle within the walls of a strange city, and betray the liberties of Italy. Come, then, let us send to the Ardeans to demand our general, ■ else take our weapons and go ■ him: for he ■ longer an exile, nor we citizens, having ■ country but what is in possession of ■ enemy."

This motion ■ agreed to, and they ■ ■ Camillus ■ him ■ accept of the command. But he answered, he could not do it, before he ■ legally appointed to it, by the Romans in the Capitol. For he looked upon them, while they were in being as the commonwealth, and would readily obey their orders, but without them would not be ■ officious as to interpose.¹

They admired the modesty and honour of Camillus, but knew not how to send the proposal ■ the Capitol. It seemed indeed impossible for ■ messenger to pass into the citadel, whilst the enemy ■ in possession of the city. However, a young ■, named Pontius Cominius, ■ distinguished by ■ birth, but fond of glory, readily took upon ■ the commission. He carried no letters ■ the citizens in the Capitol, lest, if he should happen to be taken, the enemy should discover by them the intentions of Camillus. Having dressed himself in ■ attire, under which he concealed ■ pieces of cork, he travelled all day without fear, and approached the city ■ it grew dark. He could not pass the river by the bridge, because it ■ guarded by the Gauls; and therefore took his clothes, which ■ neither ■ heavy, and bound them about his head; and having laid himself upon the pieces of cork, easily ■ over and reached the city. Then avoiding those quarters where by the lights and noise, he concluded they kept watch, ■ ■ to the *Carmentis* gate, where there ■ the greatest silence, and where the hill of the Capitol is the steepest and most craggy. Up this he got ■perceived, by ■ way the most difficult and dreadful, and advanced ■ the guards, upon the walls. After he ■ hailed them and told them ■ ■ they received him with joy, and conducted him ■ ■ magistrates.

The senate was presently assembled, and ■ acquainted them with ■ victory of Camillus, which they had ■ heard of before,

¹ Livy says, ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ applied to the remains of the senate ■ the Capitol for leave, before ■ offered the command ■ Camillus. ■

much regard had those brave men ■ the constitution of their country, though Rome then lay in ashes. Every private man was indeed a patriot.

as well as with the proceedings of the soldiers ■ Veii, and exhorted them to confirm Camillus in ■ command, ■ the citizens out of Rome would obey none but him. Having heard his report and consulted together, they declared Camillus dictator, and sent Pontius back the same way he came, who ■ equally fortunate in his return; for he passed the enemy undiscovered, and delivered ■ the Romans ■ Veii the decree of the senate, which they received with pleasure.

Camillus, at his arrival, found 20,000 of them in arms, ■ whom he added ■ greater number of the allies, and prepared ■ attack the enemy. Thus ■ he appointed dictator the second time, and having put himself at the head of the Romans and confederates, he marched out against the Gauls.

Meantime, some of the barbarians, employed in the siege, ■ opening ■ pass by the place where Pontius had made his way by night up ■ the Capitol, observed many traces of his feet and hands, as he had worked himself up the rock, torn off what grew there, and tumbled down the mould. Of this they informed the king; who coming and viewing it, for the present said nothing; but in the evening he assembled the lightest and most active of his men, who ■ the likeliest to climb any difficult height, and thus addressed them: "The enemy have themselves shown us ■ way ■ reach them, which we were ignorant of, and have proved that this rock is neither inaccessible nor untrodden by human feet. What a shame would it be then, after having ■ ■ beginning not to finish; and to quit the place as impregnable, when the Romans themselves have taught us how to take it! Where it was easy for one man to ascend, it ■ be difficult for many, one by one; nay, should many attempt it together, they will find great advantage in assisting each other. In the meantime, I intend great rewards and honours for such as shall distinguish themselves on this occasion."

The Gauls readily embraced the king's proposal, and about midnight ■ number of them together, began to climb the rock in silence, which, though steep and craggy, proved more practicable than they expected. The foremost, having gained the top, put themselves in order and ■ ready to take possession of the wall, and ■ upon the guards, who were fast asleep; for neither man ■ dog perceived their coming. However, there ■ certain sacred geese kept ■ Juno's temple,¹ and at other times plentifully fed; but at this time, as ■ the other provisions that remained ■ scarcely sufficient for the ■ they were neglected and in poor condition. This animal is naturally quick of hearing, and ■

¹ Geese were ever after had in honour at Rome, ■ a flock of them always ■ expense ■ the public ■ golden image of a goose was erected in memory of them, and a goose every year carried in triumph upon a staff by;

finely advised; while dogs were held ■ abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled ■ them upon a ■ of cedar. Plin. ■ Plin. ■ Porcius Cato.

alarmed ■ any noise ; and ■ hunger kept them waking and uneasy, they immediately perceived ■ coming of the Gauls, and running at them with all the noise they could make, they awoke all the guards. The barbarians ■ perceiving they were discovered, advanced with loud shouts and great fury. The Romans in haste snatched up such weapons as ■ hand, and acquitted themselves like ■ on this sudden emergency. First of all, Manlius, a man of consular dignity, remarkable for his strength and extraordinary courage, engaged two Gauls at once : and ■ of them was lifting up his battle-axe, with his sword cut off his right hand : at the ■ time he thrust the boss of his shield in the face of the other, and dashed him down the precipice. Thus standing upon the rampart, with those that had come to his assistance and fought by his side, ■ drove back the rest of the Gauls that had got up, who ■ no great number, and who performed nothing worthy of such ■ attempt. The Romans having thus escaped the danger that threatened them, as soon ■ it ■ light, threw the officer that commanded the watch down the rock amongst the enemy, and decreed Manlius a reward for his victory, which had ■ of honour in it than profit ; for every ■ gave him what he had for one day's allowance, which ■ half ■ pound of bread and a quartern of the Greek cotyle.

After this, the Gauls began ■ lose courage : For provisions were scarce, and they could not forage, for fear of Camillus.¹ Sickness, too, prevailed among them, which took its rise from the heaps of dead bodies, and from their encamping amidst the rubbish of the houses they had burned ; where there was such ■ quantity of ashes as, when raised by the winds or heated by the sun, by their dry and acrid quality so corrupted the air, that every breath of it was pernicious. But what affected them most was, the change of climate ; for they had lived in countries that abounded with shades and agreeable shelters from the heat, and were now got into grounds that were low and unhealthy in ■. All this, together with the length and tediousness of the siege, which had ■ lasted more than six months, caused such desolation among them, and carried off such numbers, that the carcases lay unburied.

The besieged, however, ■ in a much better condition. Famine, which now pressed them hard, and their ignorance of what Camillus ■ doing, caused ■ small dejection : For the barbarians guarded the city with ■ much care, that it ■ impossible ■ send ■ messenger ■ him. Both sides being thus equally discouraged, the advanced guards, who ■ enough to converse, first began ■ talk of treating. As the motion ■ approved by those that had the chief direction of affairs, Sulpitius, one of the military tribunes, ■ and conferred with Brennus ; where it ■ agreed that the Romans should pay 1,000 lbs. weight of gold,² and that ■ Gauls, upon the receipt of it, should immediately quit ■

¹ Camillus being ■ of ■ country, posted strong guards on all the roads, and in all the besieged ■ back-gate.

² That is, £45,000.

city ■ its territories. When ■ conditions ■ ■ to, and ■ gold ■ brought, the Gauls endeavouring to avail ■ of ■ weights, privately at first, and afterwards openly, drew down their own side of the balance. The ■ expressing their resentment, *Brennus, in a contemptuous and insulting ■, took off his sword, and threw it, belt and all, into ■ scale: And when Sulpilius asked what that meant, he answered, "■ should it ■ but woe ■ the conquered?"* which became ■ proverbial saying. Some of the Romans were highly incensed ■ this, and talked of returning with their gold, and enduring the ■ extremities of ■ siege; but others ■ of opinion, ■ it ■ better to pass by a small injury, since the indignity ■ in paying more than ■ due, but in paying anything ■ all; ■ disgrace only consequent upon the necessity of the times.

While they ■ thus disputing with the Gauls, Camillus arrived at the gates; and being informed of what had passed, ordered the main body of his army ■ advance slowly and in good order, while he with a select band, marched hastily up to the Romans, who ■ gave place, and received the dictator with respect and silence. Then he took the gold out of the scales and gave it to the *lictors*, and ordered the Gauls to take away the balance and the weights, and to be gone; telling them, *it was the custom of the Romans to deliver their country with steel, not with gold.* And when Brennus expressed his indignation, and complained he had great injustice done him by this infraction of the treaty, Camillus answered, "That it was never lawfully made: nor could it be valid, without his ■ sent, who was dictator and sole magistrate; they had, therefore, acted without proper authority: but they might make their proposals, ■ he was come, whom the laws had invested with power either to pardon the suppliant or to punish the guilty, if proper satisfaction ■ not made."

At this, Brennus ■ still more highly incensed, and ■ skirmish ensued; swords ■ drawn on ■ sides, and thrusts exchanged in a confused manner, which it is easy to conceive must be the case, amidst the ruins of houses and in ■ streets, where there ■ not ■ to draw up regularly. Brennus, however, soon recollected himself, and drew off his forces into the camp, with the loss of a small number. In the night, he ordered them ■ march, and quit the city; and having retreated about eight miles from it, he encamped upon the Gabian road. Early in the morning, Camillus ■ up with them, his arms dazzling the sight, and he men full of spirits and fire. A sharp engagement ensued, which lasted ■ long time: ■ length the Gauls ■ routed with great slaughter, and their camp taken. Some of those that fled ■ in the pursuit; but the greater part were cut in pieces by the people in the neighbouring towns and villages, who ■ upon them ■ they ■ dispersed.¹

¹ There is reason to question the ■ of the latter part of this story, ■

copied it from Livy. But Polybius represents the ■ as actually receiving

Thus ■■■ Rome strangely taken, and ■■■ strangely recovered, after it had been ■■■ months in the possession of the barbarians; for they entered it a little after the *Ides*, (July 15), and ■■■ driven out about the *Ides* (February 14), following. Camillus returned in triumph, as became the deliverer of his lost country, and ■■■ restorer of Rome. Those that ■■■ quitted the place before the siege, with their wives and children, ■■■ followed his chariot; and they that had been besieged in the Capitol, and ■■■ almost perishing with hunger, met the others and embraced them; weeping for joy ■■■ this unexpected pleasure, which they almost considered ■■■ a dream. The priests and ministers of the gods bringing back with them what holy things they had hid or conveyed away when they fled, afforded ■■■ most desirable spectacle to the people; and they gave them the kindest welcome, ■■■ the gods themselves had returned with them to Rome. Next, Camillus sacrificed ■■■ the gods, and purified the city, in ■■■ form dictated by the pontiffs. He rebuilt the former temples, and erected a new one to *Atus Loguntius*, the *speaker*, or *warner*, upon the very spot where the voice from heaven announced in the night to Marcus Ceditius the coming of the barbarians. There was, indeed, no small difficulty in discovering the places where the temples had stood, but it was effected by the zeal of Camillus, and the industry of the priests.

As it was necessary to rebuild the city which was entirely demolished, a heartless despondency seized the multitude, and they invented pretexts of delay. They were in want of all necessary materials, and had ■■■ occasion for repose and refreshment after their sufferings, than to labour and wear themselves out, when their bodies were weak and their substance was gone. They had, therefore, a secret attachment to Veii, a city which remained entire, and was provided with everything. This gave ■■■ handle to their demagogues ■■■ harangue them, as usual, in a way agreeable to their inclinations, and made them listen to seditious speeches against Camillus: "As if, to gratify his ambition and thirst of glory, he would deprive them of ■■■ city fit to receive them, force them to pitch their tents among rubbish, and rebuild a ruin that was like ■■■ great funeral pile; in order that he might not only be called the general and dictator of Rome, but the founder too, instead of Romulus, whose right he invaded."

On this account, the senate, afraid of ■■■ insurrection, would not let Camillus lay down the dictatorship within the year, ■■■ he desired, though no other person had ever borne that high office ■■■ than six months. In the meantime, they went about ■■■ console the people, to gain them by caresses and kind persuasions. One while they showed them the monuments and tombs of their ■■■ tors, ■■■ they put them in mind of their temples and holy places,

■■■ from the Romans, and returning ■■■ to their own country; and this is confirmed by Justin, Suetonius, and

even by Livy himself, in ■■■ part of his history, x. 16.

which Romulus, and Numa, and the other kings, had consecrated and in charge with them. Above all, amidst the sacred and awful symbols, they took care to make them recollect the fresh human head,¹ which found when the foundations of the Capitol dug, and which presignified that the place was to be the head of Italy. They urged the disgrace it would be to extinguish again the sacred fire, which the vestals had lighted since the war, and quit the city; whether they see it inhabited by strangers, desolate wild for flocks to feed in. In this moving manner the *patrians* remonstrated to people both in public and private; and in their turn much affected by the distress of the multitude, who lamented their present indigence, and begged of them, they were collected like the remains of a shipwreck, not oblige them to patch up ruins of a desolated city, when there entire and ready to receive them.

Camillus, therefore, thought proper to take the judgment of the senate in a body. And when he had exerted his eloquence in favour of his native country, and others had done the same, he put it to the vote, beginning with Lucius Lucretius, whose right it vote first, and who was to be followed by the rest in their order. Silence was made; and as Lucretius was about to declare himself, it happened that a centurion, who then commanded the day-guard, as he passed the house called with a loud voice to the ensign, to stop, and set up his standard there, for that the best place to stay in. These words being so seasonably uttered, at a time when they doubtful and anxious about the event, Lucretius gave thanks to the gods, and embraced the omen, while the gladly assented. A wonderful change, at the time, took place in the minds of the people, who exhorted and encouraged each other in the work, and they began to build immediately, in any order upon a regular plan, but inclination convenience directed. By reason of this hurry the streets narrow and intricate, and the houses badly out; for they tell both the walls of the city and the streets built within the compass of a year.

The persons appointed by Camillus to search for and mark out the holy places, found all in confusion. As they looking round the *palatium*, they to the court of *Mars*, where the buildings, the rest, were burned and demolished by the barbarians; but in removing the rubbish and cleaning the place, they discovered, under a great heap of ashes, the augural staff of Romulus. This staff is crooked one end, and *lituus*. It is used marking out the several quarters of the heavens, in any

¹ This prodigy happened the reign of Tarquin the proud, who unaccountably have put head on purpose; for, in digging the foundation, it found warm and bleeding, as if severed from the body Upon the

Romans sent to consult the sooth-sayers, who, after vainly endeavouring to bring favour their own country, acknowledged that the place where that head was found would be the head of all Italy. DRYDEN HAL lib.

process of divination by the flight of birds, which Romulus much in and made great of. When he taken of world, priests carefully preserved the staff from desilement, like other holy relics : and this having escaped the fire, when the consumed, they indulged a pleasing hope, and considered it a presage, that Rome would last for ever.¹

Before they had finished the laborious task of building, a broke out. The Æqui, the Volsci, and the Latins, all invaded their territories, and the Tuscans laid siege a Sutrium, a city in alliance with Rome. The military tribunes, too, who manded the army, being surrounded by the Latins near Mount Marcius, and their camp in great danger, sent to Rome a desire ; on which occasion Camillus appointed dictator the third time.

Of this war there are different accounts : I begin with the fabulous . It is said, the Latins either seeking a pretence for war, or really inclined to renew their ancient affinity with Romans, to demand of them a number of freeborn virgins in marriage. The Romans in no small perplexity as the they should take. For, on the one hand, they were afraid of war, as they were yet re-established, nor had recovered their losses ; and on the other, they suspected that the Latins only wanted their daughters for hostages, though they coloured their design with the specious name of marriage. While they were thus embarrassed, a female slave, named Tutula, or, as some call her, Philotis, advised the magistrates to send with her some of the handsomest and most genteel of the maid-servants, dressed like virgins of good families, and leave the rest to her. The magistrates approving the expedient, chose a number of female slaves proper for her purpose, and sent them richly attired to the Latin camp, which was not far from the city. At night, while the other slaves conveyed away the enemies' swords, Tutula and Philotis got up into a wild fig-tree of considerable height, and having spread a thick garment behind, to conceal her design from the Latins, lit up a torch towards Rome, which was the signal agreed upon between her and the magistrates, who alone were in the secret. For this the soldiers sallied out in a tumultuous manner, calling upon each other, and hastened by their officers who found it difficult to bring them into any order. They made themselves masters, however, of the entrenchments, and as the enemy, expecting such attempt, were asleep, they took the camp, and put the greatest part

1 At this time, some of the people determined to impeach Q. Fabius, who had been lawless nations, and thereby provoked the Gauls, and occasioned the burning of Rome. His being notorious, he was summoned by Q. Martius before the assembly of the people to answer his conduct in the embassy. The Gauls had reason

to fear the punishment : but he was out till he died suddenly : which generally happened to every one of person enough to vent his condemnation, and the shame of a public punishment.

2 In the life of Romulus she is called Tutula. Macrobius calls her Tutula.

of them to the sword. This happened on the *Nones*, July 7th, then called *Quintillis*. And on that day they celebrate a feast in memory of this action. In the first place, they sally in ■ crowding and disorderly manner out of the city, pronouncing aloud the most familiar and ■ names, as Caius, Marcus, Lucius, and the like ; by which they imitate the soldiers then calling upon each other in their hurry. Next, the maid-servants walk about, elegantly dressed, and jesting on all they meet. They have also ■ of fight among themselves, ■ express the assistance they gave ■ the ■ engagement with the Latins. Then they sit down to ■ entertainment, shaded with branches of the fig ■ : and that day ■ called *Aona Capratina*, ■ suppose, on account of the wild fig-tree, from which the maid-servant held out the torch ; for the Romans call that tree *caprificus*. Others refer the greatest part of what is said and done ■ that occasion ■ that part of the story of Romulus when he disappeared, and the darkness and tempest, or, ■ some imagine, an eclipse happened. It was ■ the same day, at least, and the day might be called *Aona Capratina* ; for the Romans call a great *Capra* ; and Romulus vanished out of sight while he was holding ■ assembly of the people at the *Goat's Marsh*.

The other account that is given of this war, and approved by ■ historians, is ■ follows. Camillus being appointed dictator the third time, and knowing that the army under the military tribunes was surrounded by the Latins and Volscians, was constrained to make levies among such as ■ had exempted from service. With these he fetched a large compass about Mount Marcius, and unperceived by the enemy posted his army behind them ; and by lighting many fires signified his arrival. The Romans that were besieged in their camp, being encouraged by this, resolved to sally out and join battle. But the Latins and Volscians kept close within their works, drawing a line of circumvallation with palisades, ■ they had the enemy on both sides, and resolving to wait for reinforcements from home, as well as for the Tuscan succours.

Camillus, perceiving this, and fearing that the enemy might surround him as he had surrounded them, hastened to make use of the present opportunity. As the works of the confederates consisted of wood, and the wind used to blow hard from the mountains ■ rising, he provided ■ great quantity of combustible matter, and drew out his forces at daybreak. Part of them he ordered with loud shouts and missive weapons to begin the attack on the opposite side ; while he himself, ■ the head of those that ■ charged with the fire, watched the proper minute, on that side of the ■ where the wind used ■ blow directly. When the ■ risen the wind blew violently ; and the attack being begun ■ the other side, he gave the signal ■ his own party, who poured a vast quantity of fiery darts and other burning matter into the enemy's fortifications. As the flame ■ caught hold, ■ was fed by the palisades and other timber, it spread itself into all quarters ; ■ the Latins not being provided with any means of extinguishing it, the camp was almost full of fire, and they were reduced to a small spot of ground

At last they ■ forced to bear down upon that body who ■ posted before the camp and ready ■ receive them sword in hand. Consequently very few of them escaped ; and those that remained in the camp ■ destroyed by the flames, till the Romans extinguished them for the sake of the plunder.

After this exploit, he left his son Lucius in the camp ■ guard the prisoners and ■ booty, ■ he himself penetrated into the enemy's country. There he took the city of the Æqui and reduced the Volsci, and ■ led his army to Sutrium, whose fate he ■ yet apprised of, and which he hoped to relieve by fighting the Tuscans who had ■ down before it. But the Sutrians had already surrendered their town, with the loss of every thing but the clothes they had on : and in this condition he met them by ■ way, with their wives and children, bewailing their misfortunes. Camillus ■ extremely moved ■ sad a spectacle ; and perceiving that the Romans wept with pity ■ the affecting entreaties of the Sutrians, he determined ■ defer his revenge, but ■ march to Sutrium that very day ; concluding that men who had just taken ■ opulent city, where they had not left one enemy, and who expected none from any other quarter, would be found in disorder and off their guard. Nor ■ be mistaken in his judgment. He not only passed through the country undiscovered, but approached the gates and got possession of the walls before they were aware. Indeed there was none to guard them ; for all were engaged in festivity and dissipation. Nay, even when they perceived that the enemy were masters of the town, they were so overcome by their indulgences, that few endeavoured ■ escape ; they were either slain in their houses, ■ surrendered themselves to the conquerors. Thus the city of Sutrium being twice taken in one day, the new possessors were expelled, and the old ones restored, by Camillus.

By the triumph decreed him on this occasion, he gained ■ less credit and honour than by the two former. For those of the citizens ■ envied him, and ■ desirous to attribute his ■ rather to fortune than to his valour and conduct, ■ compelled by these last actions, ■ allow his great abilities and application. Among those that opposed ■ and detracted from his merit, the most considerable was Marcus Manlius, who ■ the first that ■ pulsed the Gauls, when they attempted the Capitol by night, and ■ that account ■ surnamed *Capitolinus*. He ■ ambitious to be the greatest ■ Rome, and ■ he could ■ by fair ■ outstrip Camillus ■ the ■ of honour, he took the common road ■ absolute ■ by courting the populace, particularly those that were in debt. Some of the latter he defended, by pleading their causes against ■ creditors ; and others ■ rescued, forcibly preventing their being dealt with according ■ law. So that he soon got ■ number ■ indigent persons ■ him, who became formidable to ■ patricians by their insolent and riotous behaviour in the /

■ exigency they appointed Cornelius Cossus dictator, who named Titus Quinctius Capitolinus ■ general of horse ; and by

this supreme magistrate [] committed [] prison : on which occasion the people [] into mourning ; a thing [] used but in time of great and public calamities. The senate, therefore, afraid of an insurrection, ordered him to be released. But when [] at liberty, instead of altering his conduct, he grew [] insolent and troublesome, and filled the whole city with faction and sedition. At that time Camillus was again created a military tribune, and Manlius taken and brought to his trial. But the fight of the Capitol was a great disadvantage to those that carried [] the impeachment. The place where Manlius by night maintained the fight against the Gauls, [] from the *forum* ; and all who attended [] moved with compassion at his stretching out his hands towards that place, and begging them with tears to remember his achievements. The judges of [] were greatly embarrassed, and often adjourned the court, not choosing to acquit him after such clear proofs of his crime, nor yet able [] carry the laws into execution in a place which continually reminded the people of his services. Camillus, sensible of this, removed the tribunal without the gate, into the Peteline Grove, where there was no prospect of the Capitol. There the prosecutor brought his charge, and the remembrance of his former bravery gave way [] the sense which his judges had of his present crimes. Manlius, therefore, was condemned, carried to [] Capitol, and thrown headlong from the rock. Thus the same place was the monument both of his glory and his unfortunate end. The Romans, moreover, razed his house, and built there a temple [] goddess *Mona*. They decreed likewise that for the future no *patrician* should ever dwell in the Capitol.¹

Camillus, who [] now nominated military tribune the sixth time, declined that honour. For, besides that he was of an advanced age, he was apprehensive of the effects of envy and of some change of fortune, after so much glory and success. But the [] he [] insisted on in public, was, the state of his health, which [] that time [] infirm. The people, however, refusing [] accept of that excuse, cried out, " They did not desire him to fight either [] horseback [] [] foot ; they only wanted his counsel and his orders." Thus they forced him [] take the office upon him, and together with Lucius Furius Medullinus, one of his colleagues, [] march immediately against the enemy.

1 [] advantageous situation of a fortress, that commanded [] whole city, [] and facilitate the design of enslaving it. For Manlius was accused of aiming at [] sovereign power. [] may serve [] a warning to all ambitious [] on the ruins [] their country ; for he [] not escape [] mercy with the people, though he produced above 400,000 *lævians*, whose debts he had paid ; though he showed 30 [] of honour, the spoils of 20 *exactions*, whom he had slain in single combat ; though he

had received [] honorary [] among which were two [] eight olive crowns (C. Servilius, [] general [] home, being [] the number [] citizens whose lives he had saved) ; and though he had crowned [] with the preservation [] Capitol. So inconstant, however, is the multitude, [] was scarce dead, when his loss was generally lamented, and a plæcus, which [] followed, [] to the anger of Jupiter against [] authors [] death.

These ■■■■ the people of Praeneste and the Volsci, who with a ■■■■ considerable ■■■■ laying ■■■■ the country in alliance with Rome. Camillus, therefore, went and encamped over against them, intending to prolong the war, that if there should be any necessity for a battle, he might be sufficiently recovered to do his part. But ■■■■ his colleague Lucius, too ambitious of glory, was violently and indiscreetly bent upon fighting, and inspired the other officers with the same ardour, he was afraid it might be thought that through envy he withheld from the young officers the opportunity to distinguish themselves. For this ■■■■ he agreed, though with great reluctance, that Lucius should draw out the forces, whilst he, on ■■■■ of his sickness,¹ remained with a handful of men in the camp. But when ■■■■ perceived that Lucius, who engaged in a rash and precipitate manner, ■■■■ defeated, and the Romans put ■■■■ flight, he could not contain himself, but leaped from his bed, and went with his retinue ■■■■ the gates of the camp. There he forced his ■■■■ through the fugitives up to the pursuers, and made ■■■■ good a stand, that those who had ■■■■ to the camp soon returned to the charge, and others that ■■■■ retreating rallied and placed themselves about him, exhorting each other not to forsake their general. Thus the enemy were stopped in the pursuit. Next day he marched out at the head of his army, entirely routed the confederates in ■■■■ pitched battle, and entering their camp along with them, cut most of them in pieces.

After this, being informed that Satricum, ■■■■ Roman colony, ■■■■ taken by the Tuscans, and the inhabitants put to the sword, he ■■■■ home the main body of his forces, which consisted of the heavy-armed, and with a select band of light and spirited young men, fell upon the Tuscans that were in possession of the city, some of whom he put to the sword, and the rest were driven out.

Returning to Rome with great spoils, he gave ■■■■ signal evidence of the good ■■■■ of the Roman people, who entertained ■■■■ fears ■■■■ of the ill health ■■■■ age of a general that ■■■■ not deficient in courage ■■■■ experience, but made choice of him, infirm and reluctant as he was, rather than of those young ■■■■ that wanted and solicited the command. Hence it was, that upon the ■■■■ of the revolt of the Tusculans, Camillus was ordered ■■■■ march against them, and ■■■■ take with him only one of his five colleagues. Though they all desired and made interest for the commission, yet, passing the ■■■■ by, he pitched upon Lucius Furius, contrary to the general expectation : for this was the ■■■■ who but just before, against the opinion of Camillus, was ■■■■ eager to engage, and lost the battle. Yet, willing, it seems, ■■■■ draw a veil over his misfortune and ■■■■ wipe off his disgrace, he was generous enough to give him the preference.²

¹ Livy says, he placed himself on an eminence, ■■■■ a corps ■■■■ reserve, to ■■■■ serve ■■■■ success of the battle.

² This choice ■■■■ Camillus had a different motive from what Livyarch supposes.

He knew that Furius, who had felt the ill effects of a precipitate conduct would be ■■■■ such a conduct for ■■■■ future.

When [] Tuscians perceived [] Camillus [] coming against them, they attempted to correct their error by artful management. They [] with husbandmen and shepherds, [] in time of [] peace; they left their gates open, and [] their children [] school as before. The tradesmen were found in their shops employed in their respective callings, and the better [] citizens walking [] the public places in their usual dress. Meanwhile the magistrates [] busily passing to and fro, [] order quarters for [] Romans; [] if they expected no danger and were conscious of no fault. Though these arts could [] alter [] opinion Camillus had of their revolt, yet their repentance disposed him to compassion. He ordered them, therefore, [] go to the senate [] Rome and beg [] and when they appeared [] as suppliants, he used [] interest to procure their forgiveness, and [] grant of the privileges of Roman citizens' besides. These [] the principal actions of [] sixth tribuneship.

After this, Licinius Stolo raised [] great sedition in the state; putting himself at the head of the people, who insisted that of the [] consuls [] should be [] plebeian. Tribunes of the people were appointed, but the multitude would suffer no election of consuls to be held.¹ As this want of chief magistrates was likely to bring on [] greater troubles, the [] created Camillus dictator the fourth [] against the [] of the people, and not even agreeable to his own inclination.² For he was unwilling to set himself against those persons who, having been often led on by him to [] quest, could with great truth affirm, that he had [] with them in the military way than with the patricians in the civil; and at the same time [] sensible that the [] of those very patricians induced them [] promote him to [] high station, that he might oppress the people if he succeeded, [] be ruined by them [] he failed in his attempt. He attempted, however, [] obviate the present danger, and [] he knew the day [] which the tribunes intended [] propose their law, he published a general muster, and summoned [] people from the *forum* into the field, threatening to set heavy fines upon those that should [] obey. On the other

1 [] was only a Roman citizen, in the most [] significance of the words, who had [] right of living an house in Rome, [] giving [] vote [] the *Comitia*, [] of standing candidates for [] office; and who, consequently, was incorporated into one of the tribes. The freedom in the times [] the republic was [] from dignities; and of the municipal towns and Roman colonies, which enjoyed the right of citizenship, some had, and some had not, the right of suffrage and of promotion [] in Rome.

2 This confusion [] 474 years; during which the tribunes of the people [] vented the *Comitia* [] being [] which were necessary for the election of the chief magistrates. It was occasioned

by a trifling accident. [] Knave [] having [] [] daughter to Servius Tullius, a patrician, and at this time military [], and the younger to Licinius Stolo, a rich plebeian; it happened that while the younger sister was paying a visit to the elder, Tullius came home from the forum, [] his lecture, with the staff of the fasces, thundered [] the door. The [] sister being frightened [] noise, [] laughed at her as a person quite ignorant of high life. This affront greatly afflicted her; and her father, to comfort her, bid her not be uneasy, for [] should soon see as much state [] her own house as had surprised her at her sister's.

- 14 *Roman* 1703.

were many hollows, sufficient to conceal the greatest part of his men, while those that were in sight should seem through fear to have taken advantage of the higher grounds. And the Gauls fix this opinion in the Gauls, he opposed not the depredations committed in his sight, but remained quietly in the camp he fortified, while he the greater part of them dispersed in order to plunder, and part indulging themselves, day and night, in drinking and revelling. At last, he sent out the light-armed infantry before day, to prevent the enemy's drawing up in a regular manner, and to harass them by sudden skirmishing. They issued out of their trenches; and as soon as it was light he led down the heavy-armed, and put them in battle-array upon a plain, neither few in number nor disheartened, as the Gauls expected, but numerous and full of spirits.

This was the first thing that shook their resolution, for they considered it as a disgrace to have the Romans the aggressors. Then the light-armed falling upon them before they could get into order and rank themselves by companies, pressed them warmly, that they were obliged to retire in great confusion to the camp. Last of all, Camillus leading on the heavy-armed, the Gauls with brandished swords hastened to fight hand to hand; but the Romans meeting their strokes with their pikes, and receiving them on that part that was guarded with iron, so turned their swords, which were thin and soft tempered, that they were soon bent almost double: and their shields were pierced and weighed down with the pikes that stuck in them. They, therefore, quitted their arms, and endeavoured to seize those of the enemy, and to wrest their pikes from them. The Romans seeing them naked, now began to make use of their swords, and made great carnage among the foremost ranks. Meantime the rest took to flight, and were scattered along the plain; for Camillus had beforehand secured the heights; and as, in confidence of victory, they left their camp unfortified, they knew it would be taken with ease.

This battle is said to have been fought thirteen years after the taking of Rome;¹ and, in consequence of this success, the Romans laid aside, for the future, the dismal apprehensions they had entertained of the barbarians. They had imagined, it seems, that the former victory they had gained over the Gauls, owing to sickness that prevailed in their army, and to other unforeseen accidents, rather than to their own valour; and as great had their been formerly, that they made a law, that the priests should be exempted from military service, except in case of an invasion from the Gauls.

This was the last of Camillus's martial exploits. For the taking of Velitrae was a direct consequence of this victory, and it rendered without the least resistance. But the greatest conflict ever experienced in the state, remained: for the people

¹ This battle was fought, 478 B.C., 13 years after the taking of Rome.

harder deal with since they returned victorious, and they insisted that one of the consuls should be chosen out of their body, contrary to the plebeian constitution. The senate opposed them, and would not resign the dictatorship, thinking they could better defend the rights of nobility under the sanction of his supreme authority. One day, Camillus sitting in the forum, employed in the distribution of justice, an officer by the tribunes of the people, ordered him to follow him, and laid his hand upon him, if he seize him away. Upon this such a noise and tumult was raised in the assembly, as had been known; those that were about Camillus thrusting the plebeian officer down from the tribunal, and the populace calling out to drag the dictator from his seat. In this Camillus much embarrassed; he did not, however, resign the dictatorship, but the patricians in the senate-house. Before he entered it, he turned towards the Capitol, and prayed the gods to put a happy end to the present disturbances, solemnly vowing to build a temple of Concord, when the tumult should be over.

In the meantime there was a diversity of opinions and great debates. Mild and popular counsels, however, prevailed, which allowed one of the consuls to be a plebeian.¹ When the dictator announced this decree to the people, they received it with great satisfaction, as it was natural they should; they were immediately reconciled to the senate, and conducted Camillus home with great applause. Next day the people assembled, and voted that the temple which Camillus had vowed to Concord, should, in account of this great event, be built on a spot that fronted the forum and place of assembly. To those feasts which are called *latin* they added one day more, so that the whole was consist of four days; and for the present they ordained that the whole people of Rome should sacrifice with garlands on their heads. Camillus then held an assembly for the election of consuls, when Marcus Æmilius was chosen out of nobility and Lucius Sextius from commonalty, the first plebeian that ever attained that honour.

This was the last of Camillus's transactions. The year following, a pestilence visited Rome, which carried off a prodigious number of the people, of the magistrates, and Camillus himself. His death could not be deemed premature, in account of his great age and the offices he had borne, yet many lamented than all of the citizens who died of the distemper.

1 The people having gained this point, the consulate was revived, and the tribuneship laid aside for ever. About the same time the patricians procured the great privilege that a new officer, called *prætor*, should be appointed, who was to be always one of their body. The consuls had been generous of the Roman armies, and at the same time judges in civil affairs, but as they were often in

field, it was thought proper to remove the latter branch from their hands and appropriate it to a judge with the title of *prætor*, who was to be next in dignity to the consuls. About the year of Rome 501, another *prætor* was appointed to decide the differences among foreigners. Upon the taking of Sicily and afterwards two more *prætors* were created, and as many more upon the conquest of Spain.

FABIUS MAXIMUS.

THE first Fabius was the son of Hercules by one of the nymphs, according to some authors; or, as others say, by one of the country, near the river Tiber. From him came the family of the Fabii, one of the most ancient and illustrious in Rome.¹ Yet some authors write, that the first founders of this family were called *Fodii*,² on account of their catching wild beasts by means of pits; for a pit is still in Latin called *fossa*, and the word *fodere*, signifies to dig: but in time, the letters being changed, they had the name of *Fabii*. This family produced many eminent men, the most considerable of whom was *Nullus*,³ by the Romans surnamed *Maximus*, the Great, and from him the Fabius Maximus of whom we are writing, the fourth in descent.

This last had the surname of *Verrucosus*, from a small wart on his upper lip. He was likewise called *Ovicula*,⁴ from the mildness and gravity of his behaviour when a boy. Nay, his composed demeanour, and his silence, his caution in engaging in the diversions of the other boys, the slowness and difficulty with which he took what was taught him, together with the submissive manner in which he complied with the proposals of his comrades, brought him under the suspicion of stupidity and foolishness, with those that did not thoroughly know him. Yet a few there were who perceived that his composedness was owing to the solidity of his parts, and who discerned withal a magnanimity and lion-like courage in his nature. In a short time, when application to business drew him out, it was obvious even to the many, that his seeming inactivity was a command which he had of his passions, that his cautiousness was prudence, and that what had passed for heaviness and insensibility, was really an immovable firmness of soul. He was what an important administration was, and in what the republic frequently engaged, and, therefore, by exercise pre-

1 TITUS Livius writes, for that family alone undertook the war against the Volentes, and sent out 300 persons of their own, who were slain in the expedition. It was likewise one of the most illustrious; and had the highest esteem in the state, and two of them were consuls.

2 Pliny's account of the matter is much more probable, viz., that they were called *Fabii* & *Favii*, from their skill in raising beans; as several other families of the same name were famous for their husbandry. In-

deed, their first heroes lifted the ground with their own hands.

3 This Fabius Italian was five times consul, and gained several important victories over the Samnites, Tuscani, and other nations. It was not, however, from these great actions, that he derived his name.

4 *Macerinus*, his behaviour in the Censorship; during which he reduced the populace of Rome into order, who before were dispersed about the tribes in general, and by that means had very great power; the name was given to the Censor.

Urbanus. Liv. lib. ix. cap. 48.

4 Ovid's signification is little sheep.

notwithstanding _____ great effect they _____ upon _____ multitude. But being informed how _____ the numbers of the enemy were, _____ of money, _____ advised the Romans _____ have patience ; _____ to give battle _____ who led _____ army _____ by many conflicts _____ this very purpose ; _____ to send succours to their allies, and to _____ the _____ that were in their possession, _____ vigour _____ the enemy expired of itself, like _____ for want of fuel.

He could not, however, prevail upon Flaminius. That general _____ suffer the _____ approach Rome, _____ Camillus of old, dispute within the walls who _____ the _____ of the city. He, therefore, ordered the tribunes _____ draw _____ forces, and mounted his horse, _____ was thrown headlong off, _____ the horse, without any _____ cause, being seized with _____ fright and trembling. Yet _____ persisted _____ resolution of marching out _____ Hannibal, and drew up _____ army _____ the _____ called Thrasymenus (_____ the _____ of Perugia), in Tuscany.

While the armies _____ engaged, there happened an earthquake, which overturned whole cities, changed the course of rivers, and tore off the tops of mountains : yet not one of the combatants _____ in the least sensible of that violent motion. Flaminius himself, having greatly signalized his strength and valour, fell ; and with him the bravest of his troops ; the rest being routed, a great carnage ensued : _____ 15,000 were slain, and _____ many _____ prisoners.* Hannibal _____ very desirous of discovering the body of Flaminius, that he might bury it with due honour, _____ a tribute to his bravery, but he could not find it, nor could any account be given what became of it.

When the Romans lost the battle of Trebia, neither the generals _____ a true account of it, _____ the messenger represented it as it was : both pretended the victory _____ doubtful. _____ as _____ the last, as soon _____ prætor Pomponius was apprised of it, _____ assembled the people, and without disguising _____ in the least, made this declaration. " Romans ! we have lost _____ great battle ; our army is cut _____ pieces, and Flaminius the consul is slain ; think, therefore, what is _____ done for your safety." The _____ commotion which

* This fall from his horse, _____ was considered as an ill omen, was followed by another as bad. When _____ ensign attempted to pull _____ standard _____ of the ground in order to march, he had not strength enough to do it. But where is the wonder, says Cleuro, to have a horse take _____ or to _____ a standard-bearer feebly endeavouring to draw up the standard, when he had perhaps purposely struck _____ the ground ?

* Notwithstanding this complete victory, Hannibal lost only 1,500 men ; for he fought the Romans at great advantage, having drawn them into an ambuscade

between the _____ Cortona and the lake Thrasymenus. Livy and Valerius Maximus make _____ number of prisoners only 6,000 ; but Polybius says they _____ much more numerous. About 10,000 Romans, most of them wounded, made their escape, and took their route to Rome, where few of them arrived, the rest dying of their wounds before _____ reached the capital. _____ mothers _____ so transported with joy, one at the _____ of the city, when she saw her son unexpectedly appear, and the other at home, where she found her son, that they both expired on the spot.

a furious wind causes in the ocean, did these words of the prætor produce in ■■■■ a multitude. ■■■ the first consternation they could not fix upon any thing : ■■■ at length, all agreed that ■■■ required the direction of an absolute power, which they called ■■■ dictatorship, and ■■■ a ■■■ should be pitched upon for it, who ■■■ exercise it with steadiness and intrepidity. That such ■ man ■■ Fabius Maximus, who had ■ spirit and dignity of ■■■ equal to ■ great ■ command, and, besides, was of an ■■■ in which the vigour of ■■ body ■ sufficient ■■■■ ■■■ purposes of ■■ mind, and courage ■ tempered ■■ prudence.

Pursuant ■ these resolutions, Fabius ■■ chosen dictator,¹ and he appointed Lucius Minucius his general of the horse.² But first *he desired permission of the senate to make ■■ of a horse when ■■ the field.* ■■■ ■■ forbidden by an ancient law, either because they placed their greatest strength ■ the infantry, and therefore chose that ■■ commander in chief should be always posted among them ; or else because they would have the dictator, whose power in all other respects ■■ very great, and, indeed, arbitrary, in this ■■ least appear to be dependent upon the people. In the next place, Fabius, willing to show the high authority and grandeur of his office, in order to make the people more tractable and submissive appeared in public with 24 *lictors* carrying the *fascæ* before him ; and when ■■ surviving consul met him, he sent ■■ of his officers to order him ■■ dismiss his *lictors* and the other ensigns of his employment, and to join h:■ as a private man.

Then *beginning with ■■ act of religion, which is the best of all beginnings*, and assuring the people that their defeats were ■■ owing ■ the cowardice of the soldiers, but to the general's neglect of the sacred rites and auspices, ■■ exhorted them to entertain no dread of the enemy, but by extraordinary honours to propitiate the gods. Not that he wanted to infuse into them a spirit of superstition, but ■■ confirm their valour by piety, and to deliver them from every other fear, by ■■■ of the Divine protection. On that occasion he consulted several of those mysterious books of the Sibyls, which contained ■■■ of great ■■ to the state ; and ■ is said, that ■■ of ■■ prophecies found there, perfectly agreed with the circumstances ■■ those times : but ■■■ lawful to divulge them. However, in full assembly, he vowed to the gods a ■■ *sacrum*, *that is, all the young which the next spring should produce*, on the mountains, the fields, the rivers, and meadows of Italy, from the goats, ■■ swine, the sheep, and ■■ *cow*. ■■ likewise vowed to exhibit the great ■■■ in honour of the gods, and ■■ expend upon ■■■ games 333,000 *sesterces*, 333 *denarii*, and ■■ ■■ a

¹ A dictator could not be regularly named but by the surviving consul, and Servilius being with the army, the people appointed Fabius by their own authority, with the title of predicator. The gratitude of Rome allowed

denari to put dictator instead of predicator in the list of his titles.

² According to Polybius and Livy, his name was not Lucius, but Marcus Minucius ; nor was he pitched upon by ■■■■ but by the people.

denarius; which is our Greek money 83,583 *drachmas* or *oboli*. What his might be for fixing upon that precise number is not easy to determine, unless it be on account of the perfection of the number three, as being the first of odd numbers, the first of plurals, and containing itself the first differences, and the first elements of all numbers.

Fabius having taught the people to repose themselves on the religion, the easy future. For his own part, he placed all his hopes of victory in himself, believing that *He who is blest with success is on account of their virtue and prudence*; therefore he watched the motions of Hannibal, with design to give him battle, but by length of spirit and vigour, and gradually to destroy him by his superiority in land and money. To secure himself against the enemy's horse, he took care to encamp above them in high and mountainous places. When they still he did the same; when they were in motion he showed himself upon the heights, at such a distance as not to be obliged to fight against his inclination, yet near enough to keep them in perpetual alarm, if, amidst his delay to gain time, he intended every moment to give them battle.

These dilatory proceedings exposed him to contempt among the Romans in general, and even in his own army. The enemy too, excepting Hannibal, thought him a man of no spirit. He alone sensible of the keenness of Fabius, and of the manner in which he intended to carry on the war, and therefore was determined, if possible, either by stratagem or force, to bring him to battle, concluding that otherwise the Carthaginians must be undone: since they could not decide the dispute in the field, where they had the advantage, but must gradually wear away and be reduced to nothing, when the dispute was only who should be superior in land and money. Hence it was that *he exhausted the whole art of war*; like a skilful wrestler, who watches every opportunity to lay hold of his adversary. Sometimes he advanced and alarmed him with the apprehensions of an attack; sometimes by marching and countermarching he led him from place to place, hoping to draw him from his plan of caution. But he was fully persuaded of its utility, he kept immovably to his resolution. Minucius, his general of horse, gave him, however, small trouble, by his unseasonable courage and heat, haranguing the army, and filling them with a furious desire to action, and a vain confidence of success. Thus the soldiers brought to despise Fabius, and by way of derision call him the *pedagogue* of Hannibal,¹ while they extolled Minucius as a great man, and that acted up to the dignity of Rome. This led Minucius to give a freer scope to his arrogance and pride, and to ridicule the dictator for encamping constantly upon the mountains, as if it was on purpose that the men might

¹ For the office of a *pedagogue* of old was (as the name implies) to attend the

children, to carry them up and down and conduct them home again.

clearly [] Italy laid [] fire and sword." And he [] the friends of Fabius, "Whether he intended to take his army up into heaven, [] he had [] adieu to the world below, [] whether he would screen himself from the enemy with clouds and fogs?" When the dictator's friends brought him an account of these aspersions, and exhorted him [] wipe them [] by risking [] battle, "In that case," [] [], "I should be of [] more dastardly spirit than they represent me, [] through fear of insults and reproaches, [] should depart from my own resolution. But *to fear for my country is not a disagreeable fear.* That [] is unworthy of such [] command as this, who sinks under calumnies and slanders, and complies with the humour [] those whom he ought [] govern, and [] folly and rashness it is his duty to restrain."

After this, Hannibal made a disagreeable mistake. For intending to [] his army farther from Fabius, and to [] into [] part of the country that would afford him forage, he ordered the guides, immediately after supper to conduct him to the plains of Casinum. They taking the [] wrong, by reason of his *barbarous* pronunciation of it, led his forces to the borders of Campania, near the town of Casalium, through which runs the river Lathronus which the Romans call Volturnus. The adjacent country is surrounded with mountains, except only [] valley that stretches out to the []. Near the sea the ground is very marshy, and full of large banks of sand, by reason of the overflowing of the river. The sea is there very rough and the coast almost impracticable.

As soon as Hannibal was entered into this valley, Fabius availing himself of his knowledge of the country, seized the [] outlet, and placed in it [] guard of 4000 men. The main body of his army he posted to advantage on the surrounding hills, and with the lightest and most active [] of his troops, fell upon the enemy's rear, and put their whole army in disorder, and killed about 800 of them.

Hannibal then wanted to get clear of so disadvantageous a situation; and, in revenge of the mistake the guides had made, and the danger they had brought him into, he crucified them all. But [] knowing how to drive the enemy from the heights they [] of, and sensible besides of the terror and confusion that reigned amongst his men, who concluded themselves fallen into [] from which there [] escaping, he had [] [] [] tagem.

[] ravaged Samnium, plundered the territory of Beneventum, a Roman colony, and laid siege to Tifida, a city [] the Apennines. But finding [] neither the ravaging [] the country, [] even [] taking of some [] [] quit his eminences, he resolved to make use of a stronger bait, [] to [] []

pena, the [] country [] Italy, and lay it waste under [] [] [] hoping by that means to bring [] to [] action. [] by [] mistake which Plutarch [] [] guides, [] conducting him to [] plains [] Casinum, [] the narrow passes [] Casalium, which [] Campania,

He caused [] oxen, which [] had in his camp, [] have torches and dry bavin's well fastened [] their horns. These, in [] night, upon [] signal given, [] to be lighted, and the [] [] be driven [] [] mountains, [] the narrow pass that [] guarded by the enemy. While those that had it in charge [] thus employed, [] decamped, [] marched slowly forward. So long [] [] fire was moderate, and burned only the torches and bavin's, [] oxen moved softly on, as they [] driven [] the hills; [] [] shepherds and herdsmen [] [] adjacent heights took them for an army that marched in order [] with lighted torches. But when their horns were burnt [] [] [] and [] fire pierced [] the quick, terrified and mad with pain, they no longer kept any certain route, but ran up the hills, with their foreheads and tails flaming, and setting every thing on fire that [] in their way. The Romans who guarded the pass [] astonished; for they appeared [] them like a great number of men running up and down with torches, which scattered fire on every side. In their fears, of course, they concluded, that they should [] attacked and surrounded by the enemy; for which [] they quitted the pass, and fled [] the main body in the camp. Immediately Hannibal's light-armed troops took possession of [] outlet, and the rest of his forces marched safely through, loaded with [] rich booty.

Fabius discovered the stratagem that [] night, for some of [] oxen, as they were scattered about, fell into his hands: but, for fear of an ambush in the dark, he kept his [] all night under arms in the camp. At break of day, he pursued the enemy, [] up with their rear, and attacked them; several skirmishes ensued in the difficult passes of the mountains, and Hannibal's army was put in some disorder, until he detached from his [] [] body of Spaniards, light and nimble men, who were accustomed to climb such heights. These falling upon the heavy armed Romans, cut off [] considerable number of them, and obliged Fabius [] retire. This brought upon him [] contempt and calumny than [] : for having renounced open force, [] if he could subdue Hannibal by conduct and foresight, he appeared [] to [] worsted [] [] weapons. Hannibal, [] incense the Romans still more against him, when [] [] his lands, ordered them to be spared, and [] [] guard upon them [] prevent [] committing of the least injury there, while he [] ravaging [] [] country around him, and laying [] [] [] fire. An account of these things being brought to Rome, heavy complaints [] made thereupon. The tribunes alleged many articles of accusation against him, before the people, chiefly [] instigation of Metilius, who had no particular enmity to Fabius, [] being strongly [] [] interest of Minucius, the general of [] horse, whose relation [] was, he thought by depressing Fabius, [] raise his friend. The senate [] [] offended, particularly with the [] [] he [] [] with Hannibal for [] [] of prisoners. For it [] agreed [] [] them, [] [] prisoners should be exchanged, [] for man, [] that if either [] [] had more than [] other, he [] [] release them [] 250 drachmas

each man ² and upon ■■■ whole ■■■■■ there remained 240 Romans unexchanged. The senate determined ■■■ ■■ pay this ransom, and blamed Fabius as taking ■■ step that ■■ against the honour and interest of the ■■■, in endeavouring ■■ recover men whom cowardice ■■■ betrayed ■■■ the ■■■ of ■■■ enemy.

■■■ Fabius ■■■ informed of the resentment of ■■■ fellow-citizens, he bore ■■■ invincible patience; but being in want of money, and ■■■ choosing ■■ deceive Hannibal, or ■■ abandon his countrymen in ■■■ distress, he sent his son ■■ Rome, with orders ■■ sell part of ■■■ estate, and bring him the money immediately. This ■■■ punctually performed by his son, and Fabius redeemed ■■■ prisoners; several of whom afterwards offered ■■ repay him, but his generosity would not permit him to accept it.

After ■■■ he ■■■ called ■■ Rome by the priests, ■■ assist ■■■ of ■■■ solemn sacrifices, and therefore ■■■ obliged ■■ leave the army ■■ Minucius; but he both charged him as dictator, and used many arguments and entreaties with him as a friend, ■■■ ■■ come ■■ any kind of action. The pains he took ■■■ lost upon Minucius: for he immediately sought occasions to fight the enemy. And observing one day that Hannibal ■■■ sent out great part of his army to forage, he attacked those that were left behind, and drove them within their entrenchments, killing great numbers of them, so that they even feared he would storm their camp: and when the rest of the Carthaginian forces were returned, he retreated without loss.¹ This success added ■■ his temerity, and increased the ardour of his soldiers. The report of it soon reached Rome, and the advantage was represented ■■ much greater than it really ■■■. When Fabius was informed of it, he said, *he dreaded nothing more than the success of Minucius*. But the people, mightily elated with the news, ran ■■ the *forum*; and their tribune Metilius harangued them from the *rostrum*, highly extolling Minucius, and accusing Fabius now, not of cowardice and ■■■ of spirit, but of treachery. He endeavoured also to involve the principal men in Rome in the same crime, alleging, "That they had originally brought the ■■■ upon Italy, for the destruction of the ■■■ people, and had put the ■■■ wealth under the absolute direction of ■■■ man, who by his slow proceedings ■■■ Hannibal opportunity to establish himself in ■■■ country, and ■■ draw ■■■ forces from Carthage in order ■■ effect ■■ total conquest of Italy."

Fabius disdained to make any defence against these allegations ■■ tribune; he only declared that "He would ■■■ the sacrifice and other religious rites ■■ as possible, that ■■ might return to ■■ army and punish Minucius for fighting contrary ■■ his orders." This occasioned ■■ great tumult ■■■ the people, who ■■■ alarmed

¹ Livy calls this *armenti pondus bini* or *seidrus in midius*; whence we learn that the Roman pondo, or pound weight of silver, was equivalent to 100 Greek drachmas or a mine.

² Others say, that he lost 5,000 of his men, and that the enemy's loss did not exceed his by more than 1,000.

Minucius valued **1111** highly upon this, that **1111** power **1111** the greatest and most arbitrary **1111** the **1111** was controlled **1111** reduced for **1111** sake. But **1111** put him in mind, "That it was not Fabius whom **1111** had to contend with, but Hannibal: that if he would, notwithstanding, consider his colleague **1111** his rival, **1111** must take **1111** lest he who had **1111** successfully carried his point with **1111** people, should **1111** day appear **1111** have their safety and interest less **1111** heart than the man who had been so ill treated by them." Minucius considering **1111** the **1111** of an old man's pique, and taking the troops **1111** fell to **1111** lot, marked out a separate camp for them.¹ **1111** was well informed of all that had passed, and watched his opportunity **1111** take advantage of it.

There was a **1111** betwixt him and the enemy, **1111** difficult to take possession of, which yet would afford **1111** army a very safe and commodious post. The ground about it, **1111** a distance, seemed quite level and plain, though there **1111** in it several ditches and hollows: and therefore, though he might privately have seized that post with ease, yet **1111** it **1111** a **1111** draw the enemy **1111** an engagement. But as **1111** as he **1111** Minucius parted from Fabius he took **1111** opportunity in the night to place **1111** number² of men in those ditches and hollows: **1111** early in the morning he openly sent out a small party, **1111** if **1111**igned to make themselves masters of the hill, but really **1111** draw Minucius to dispute it with them. The **1111** answered his expectation. For Minucius sent out his light-armed troops first, then the cavalry, and at last, when he saw Hannibal send reinforcements to his men upon the hill, he marched out with all his forces in order of battle, and attacked with great vigour the Carthaginians, who were marking out **1111** camp upon the hill. The fortune of the day was doubtful, until Hannibal, perceiving that the enemy had fallen into the snare, and that their rear **1111** open to the ambuscade, instantly gave the signal. Hereupon, his men rushed out **1111** sides, and advancing with loud shouts, and cutting in pieces the hindmost ranks, they put the Romans in disorder and **1111** inexpressible. Even the spirit of Minucius began to shrink; and he looked first upon **1111** offi³ and then upon another, but **1111** of them durst stand his ground; they all betook themselves **1111** flight, and **1111** flight itself proved fatal. For **1111** Numidians, **1111** victorious, galloped **1111** plain, and killed those whom they found dispersed.

Fabius **1111** not ignorant of **1111** danger of **1111** countrymen. Foreseeing what would happen, he kept his forces under arms, and took care to be informed how the action **1111** **1111** did **1111** **1111** to the reports of others, but **1111** himself looked **1111** from **1111** eminence not far from his camp. When **1111** saw **1111** army of his colleague surrounded and broken, and the cry reached him, **1111** like that of men standing **1111** charge, but of persons flying **1111** great dismay,³ *He*

¹ About 1,500 paces from Fabius.

² 500 horse and 5,000 foot. Puzos.

³ Homer mentions the custom of anti-

ing upon the shield in time of trouble: and we learn from Scipione, that it was practised in the East.

upon his thigh, and with a deep sigh said him, "Ye gods! how much sooner than I expected, and yet than his indiscreet proceedings required, has Minucius ruined himself!" Then, having commanded the standard-bearers to advance, and whose army follow, he addressed these words: "Now, my brave soldiers, if any one has a regard for Marcus Minucius, let him exert himself; for he deserves assistance for valour, and he bears his country. If, in haste drive out his enemy, he has committed any error, is a time fault with him."

The first sight of Fabius frightened away the Numidians, who picking up stragglers in the field. Then he attacked those who charging the Romans the. Such made resistance he slew; but the greatest part retreated their own army, before the communication cut off, lest they should themselves surrounded in their turn. Hannibal seeing this change of fortune, and finding that Fabius pushed through the hottest of the with a vigour above his years, come up Minucius upon hill, put end to the dispute, and having sounded a retreat, retired into his camp. The Romans, on their part, were not sorry when the action over. Hannibal, as he drawing off, is reported have said smartly to those that were by, "Did not I often tell you, that this cloud would one day burst upon us from mountains, with all the fury of a storm?"

After the battle, Fabius having collected the spoils of such Carthaginians as were left dead upon the field, returned to his post; nor did he let fall haughty angry word against his colleague. As for Minucius, having called his men together, he thus expressed himself: "Friends and fellow-soldiers! not to all in the management of great affairs, is above the wisdom of men, but it is the part of a prudent and good man, to learn, from errors, and miscarriages, correct himself for the future. For my part, I confess, that though fortune has frowned upon a little, I have much thank her for. For what I could not be brought to be sensible of in long time, I have learned in the small compass of day, that I know not how to command, but have need be under the direction of another; from this I bid adieu the ambition of getting the better of a whom it is honour be foiled by. In all other respects, the dictator shall your commander; but in due expressions of gratitude to him, I will your still, by being the example of obedience and submission."

He then ordered the ensigns to advance with the eagles, and troops to follow, himself marching at their the of Fabius. Being admitted, he directly to tent. The whole army waited with impatience. When Fabius came out, Minucius fixed his standard him, with a loud voice saluted him by the of Father, at the soldiers called those of Fabius their Patrons: an appellation which freedmen give that enfranchise them. These respects being

paid, ■■■ silence taking place, ■■■■ thus ■■■■ to the dictator. "You have this day, Fabius, obtained two, victories one over the enemy by your valour, the other ■■■ your colleague by your prudence and humanity. By the former you saved us, ■■■ latter you have instructed ■■■ and Hannibal's victory over us ■■■ not ■■■ disgraceful than yours is honourable and salutary ■■■ I call you *Father*, ■■■ knowing ■■■ more honourable name, and am more indebted to you than to my real father. To him I owe my being, but to you the preservation of my life, and the lives of all these brave men." After ■■■s, ■■■ threw himself into ■■■ ■■■ Fabius, and the soldiers of each army embraced ■■■ another, with every expression of tenderness, and with ■■■ of joy.

■■■ long ■■■ this, Fabius ■■■ down the dictatorship, and consuls were created.¹ The first of these kept to ■■■ plan which Fabius ■■■ laid down. He took ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ to ■■■ pitched battle with Hannibal, but sent succours ■■■ the allies of Rome, and prevented any revolt in their cities. But when Terentius Varro,² a man of obscure birth, and remarkable only for ■■■ temerity ■■■ servile complaisance ■■■ the people, rose to the consulship, it soon appeared that his boldness and inexperience would bring him to risk the very being of the commonwealth. For he loudly insisted in the assemblies of the people, that the war stood still whilst it was under the conduct of the Fabii; but, for his part, he would take but ■■■ day to ■■■ sight of ■■■ enemy and to beat him. With these promises he ■■■ prevailed on the multitude, that he raised great forces ■■■ Rome had ever ■■■ on foot before, in her most dangerous wars; for he mustered³ no fewer than 88,000. Hereupon, Fabius, and other wise and experienced persons among ■■■ Romans ■■■ greatly alarmed; because they ■■■ no resource for the state, if such a number of their youth should be cut off. They addressed themselves, therefore, to the other consul, Paulus Æmilius, a ■■■ of great experience in war, but disagreeable ■■■ the people, and ■■■ the ■■■ time afraid of them, for they had formerly set a considerable fine upon him. Fabius, however, encouraged him to withstand the temerity of his colleague, telling him, "That the dispute ■■■ had ■■■ support for his country ■■■ not ■■■ much with Hannibal as with Varro. The latter," said he, "will hasten ■■■ engagement,⁴ because he knows ■■■ ■■■ strength; and the

¹ According to Livy, Fabius, after the six months of his dictatorship were expired, resigned the army to the consuls of that year, Servilius and Metellus; ■■■ having ■■■ appointed in the room of Flaminius, ■■■ was ■■■ in 203 B.C. But Pintor follows Polybius, who says, that at ■■■ time for the election of new consuls approached, the Romans named L. Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varro consuls, after which the dictator resigned their charge.

² Varro was the son of a butcher, and had followed his father's profession in his ■■■; but, growing rich, he had formerly ■■■ mean calling; and, by the favour of

the people, procured by supporting the most turbulent of their tribunes, he obtained the consulship.

³ It was ■■■ for two Romans ■■■ to levy every year four legions, ■■■ ■■■ ■■■, in ancient times, ■■■ of 5,000 Romans and 300 horse, and a battalion of Latins equal to ■■■ number, amounted in the whole to 42,400. But this year, instead of four legions, they raised eight.

⁴ The best dependence of Varro was undoubtedly, to prolong the war, that Hannibal, who was already weakened, might wear himself out by degrees; and, for the same reason, it was Hannibal's wisdom to fight.

former, knows his own weakness. But, Æmilius, I deserve your attention. Varro, respect me of Hannibal; and I do assure you, that if the Romans come no more with him this year, he will either be undone by me stay in Italy, or else be obliged to quit it. Even now, when he is victorious, and carries all before him, more than half of his enemies has quitted the Roman interest, and not a third part of the forces which he brought from home with him." To Æmilius is said to have answered, "My friend, when I consider myself only, I conclude it better for me, to rely upon the weapons of the enemy, than by the aid of my own countrymen. However, since the state of public affairs is so critical, I will endeavour to approve myself a good general, and had rather appear such to you, than as I oppose you, who would draw me, willing or unwilling, to their party." With these sentiments Æmilius began his operations.

But Varro, having brought his colleague to agree that they should command alternately each his day, when his turn came, took post over against Hannibal, on the banks of the Aufidus, near the villa of Cannæ.¹ As soon as it grew light, he gave signal for battle, which is a red mantle set up before the general's tent. The Carthaginians were a little disheartened at first, when they saw how daring the consul was, and that the army was more than twice their number. But Hannibal having ordered them to arm, himself, with a few others, rode up to an eminence, to take a view of the enemy drawn up for battle. One Gisco that accompanied him, a man of his own rank, happening to say, "The numbers of the enemy appeared to him surprising," Hannibal replied with a serious countenance, "There is another thing which has escaped your observation, much more surprising than that." Upon his asking what it was, "It is," said he, "that among such numbers not one of them is named Gisco." The whole company diverted with the humour of his observations: and as they returned to the camp, they told the jest to those they met, so that the laugh became universal. At sight of this the Carthaginians took courage, thinking it must proceed from the great contempt in which their general held the Romans, that he could jest and laugh in the face of danger.

In this battle Hannibal gave great proofs of generalship. In the first place, he took advantage of the ground, he placed his men with their backs to the wind, which was then very violent and scorching, and drove from the dry plains, over the heads of the Carthaginians,

¹ It was a fixed rule with the Romans, that the consuls, when they went upon the same service, should have command of the army by turns.

² Cannæ, according to Livy, Appian, and Florus, was only a poor village, which afterwards became famous on account of the battle fought near it; but Polybius, who lived near the time of the second

Punic war, styles Cannæ a city; and adds, that it had been razed a year before the defeat of the Roman army. Silius Italicus agrees with Polybius. It was afterwards rebuilt; for Pliny ranks it among the cities of Apulia. The ruins of Cannæ are still to be seen in the territory of Hæll.

clouds of sand and dust into the eyes and nostrils of the Romans, so that they were obliged to turn away their faces and break their ranks. In the mean place, his troops were drawn up in superior art. He placed the flower of them in the wings, and those upon whom he placed less dependence in the main corps, which was considerably advanced than the wings. Then he commanded those in the wings, when the enemy charged and vigorously pushed that advanced body, which he knew would give way, and open a passage for them in the very centre, and when the Romans by this means should be far enough engaged within the two wings, they should both on the right and left take them in flank, and endeavour to surround them.¹ This was the principal design of the great carnage that followed. For the enemy pressing upon Hannibal's front, which gave ground, the form of his army was changed into a half-moon; and his officers of the select troops caused the two points of his wings to join behind the Romans. Thus they were exposed to the attacks of the Carthaginians on all sides; an incredible slaughter followed; nor did any escape but the few that retreated before the main body was enclosed.

It is also said, that a strange and fatal accident happened to the Roman cavalry. For the horse which Æmilius rode having received some hurt, threw him; and those about him alighting to assist and defend the consul on foot, the rest of the cavalry seeing this, and taking it for a signal for them to do the same, all quitted their horses, and charged on foot. At sight of this, Hannibal said, "This pleases me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot." But the particulars may be found at large in the historians who have described this battle.

As to the consuls, Varro escaped with a few horse to Venutia; and Æmilius, covered with darts which stuck in his wounds, sat down in anguish and despair, waiting for the enemy to despatch him. His head and his face were so disfigured and stained with blood, that it was easy to know him; even his friends and relations passed by him without stopping. At last Cornelius Lentulus, a young man of a patrician family, perceiving who he was, dismounted, and entreated him to take his horse, and himself for the commonwealth, which was then an occasion than ever for a good consul. But nothing could prevail upon him to accept of the offer; and, notwithstanding the young man's tears, he obliged him to mount his horse again. Then rising up, and taking him by the hand, "Fabius Maximus," said he, "and, Lentulus, do you yourself be witness, that Paulus Æmilius followed his directions at last, did not deviate in the least from the plan agreed upon between them, but was first misled by Varro, and then by Hannibal." Having despatched Lentulus with this commission, he rushed among the enemy's swords, and was slain. 50,000

¹ Five hundred Numidians pretended to desert to the Romans; but in the heat

of the battle turned against them, and attacked them in the rear

have fallen in this battle¹ and 4,000 have been taken prisoners, besides 10,000 that were taken after the battle in the camps.

After this great success, Hannibal's friends advised him to pursue his fortune, to leave Rome alone with the fugitives, assuring him that in five days he might sup in the Capitol. It is easy to conjecture what his reason was for not taking this step. Most probably he was dejected and opposed it, and therefore inspired him with this hesitation and timidity. On this point it is that a Carthaginian, named Barca, said to him with some heat, "Hannibal, you know how to gain a victory, but not how to use it."²

The battle of Cannæ, however, made such an alteration in the affairs, that though before it he was neither town, nor magazine, nor port in Italy, but, without any regular supplies for the war, subsisted his army by rapine, and for that purpose moved them, like a great band of robbers, from place to place, yet then he became master of the greatest part of Italy. Its best provinces and towns voluntarily submitted to him, and Capua itself, the most respectable city after Rome, threw its weight into his scale.

In this case it appeared that great misfortunes are not only, what Euripides calls them, a loss of the fidelity of a friend, but of the capacity and conduct of a general. For the proceedings of Fabius, which before this battle were deemed cold and timid, then appeared to be directed by counsels more than human, to be indeed the dictates of a divine wisdom, which penetrated into futurity at such a distance, and foresaw what was incredible to the very persons who experienced it. In him, therefore, Rome placed her last hope, his judgment is the temple, the altar, to which she fled for refuge, believing that to his prudence it was chiefly owing that she still held up her head, and that her children were not dispersed, when she was taken by the Gauls. For he, who in the midst of apparent security, seemed to be deficient in confidence and resolution, now when all abandoned themselves to inexpressible sorrow and helpless despair, alone walked about the city with a calm and

¹ According to Livy, there were killed of the Romans only 40,000 foot, and 2,700 horse. Polybius says 70,000 were killed. The loss of the Carthaginians did not amount to 6,000. When the Carthaginians were stripping the dead, among other moving objects they found, to their great surprise, a Numidian yet alive, lying under the dead body of a Roman, who had thrown himself headlong on his enemy, and beat him down. But being no longer able to make use of his weapons, because he had lost his hands, had torn off the nose and ears of the Numidian with his teeth, and in that act of rage expired.

² Livy tells us, that Barca himself acknowledged his mistake in not pursuing that day's success, and used often to cry out, O Cannæ! Cannæ!

But on the other hand, it may be said in defence of Hannibal, that the advantages he had gained were chiefly owing to his cavalry, which he did not act in a siege. That the inhabitants of Rome were all fled up to arms in their infancy, would use their utmost efforts in defence of their wives, their children, their gods, and, when sheltered by the walls and ramparts of the city, that they saw as many generals as soldiers, that no one nation of Italy had yet declared for him, and he might judge it necessary to gain some of them before he attempted the capital, and lastly, that if he had attempted the capital first, without success he would not have been able to gain any one nation or city.

pace, with a firm countenance, a mild and gracious address, checking their effeminate lamentations, and preventing them from assembling in public to bewail their common distress. He caused the ■■■■ ■■■■, ■■■■ encouraged the magistrates, ■■■■ being the soul of their body, ■■■■ all waited his motion, and ■■■■ ready to obey his orders. He placed a guard ■■■■ gates, to hinder such of the people as ■■■■ inclined ■■■■ fly, from quitting ■■■■ city. He fixed both the place and time for mourning, allowed thirty days for that purpose in a man's ■■■■ house, and ■■■■ for the city in general. ■■■■ ■■■■ of Ceres ■■■■ within that time, it was thought better entirely ■■■■ omit ■■■■ solemnity, than by the small numbers ■■■■ the melancholy looks of those that should attend it, to discover the greatness of their loss,¹ for the worship ■■■■ acceptable ■■■■ the gods is that which ■■■■ from ■■■■ hearts. Indeed, whatever the augurs ordered for propitiating ■■■■ divine powers, ■■■■ ■■■■ inauspicious omens, was carefully performed. For Fabius Pictor, ■■■■ relation of Fabius Maximus, ■■■■ to consult the oracle ■■■■ Delphi; and of the ■■■■ vestals who ■■■■ then found guilty of a breach of their ■■■■ of chastity, one was buried alive, according ■■■■ custom, and the other died by her own hand.

But what ■■■■ deserves ■■■■ be admired, is the magnanimity and temper of the Romans, when the consul Varro returned after his defeat,² much humbled and very melancholy, ■■■■ who had occasioned ■■■■ greatest calamity ■■■■ disgrace imaginable ■■■■ republic. The whole ■■■■ and people ■■■■ to ■■■■ him at the gates; and when silence was commanded, the magistrates and principal senators, amongst whom ■■■■ Fabius, commended him for not giving up the circumstances of the ■■■■ as desperate after so great a misfortune, but returning to take upon him the administration, and to make what advantage he could for his country of the laws and citizens, ■■■■ not being utterly lost and ruined.

When they found that Hannibal, after the battle, instead of marching ■■■■ Rome, turned to another part of Italy, they took courage, and ■■■■ their armies and generals into the ■■■■. The ■■■■ eminent of these ■■■■ Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus, ■■■■ distinguished by characters almost entirely opposite. Marcellus was ■■■■ of a buoyant and animated valour; remarkably well skilled ■■■■ of weapons, and naturally enterprising; ■■■■ an one, in short, ■■■■ Homer calls *lefty in heart*, ■■■■ courage

¹ This was not the real cause of deferring the festival, but that which Plutarch hints at just after, viz., because it was unlawful for persons in mourning to celebrate it; and at that time there was not one matron in Rome who was not in mourning. In fact, the feast was not entirely omitted, but kept as soon as the mourning was expired.

² Valerius Maximus tells us (lib. iii. c. 6) that the ■■■■ ■■■■ people offered

Varro the dictatorship, which he refused, and by his ■■■■ defeat wiped off, in some measure, the ■■■■ of his ■■■■ behaviour. Thus the Romans, by ■■■■ their unfortunate commanders with humanity, lessened the disgrace of ■■■■ being vanquished or discharged; while the Carthaginians condemned their generals to cruel deaths upon their being overcome, though it was often without their own ■■■■

fierce, in war delighting. So intrepid a gen[er]al was very fit to be opposed to an enemy as daring as himself, to the courage and spirits of the Romans, by some vigorous stroke in the engagements. As for Fabius, he kept to his first sentiments, he hoped that if he only followed Hannibal close, without fighting him, he and his army would wear themselves out, and lose their warlike vigour, just as a wrestler does, who keeps continually in the ring, and allows himself no repose, to recruit his strength from excessive fatigues. Hence it was that the Romans (as Posidonius tells us,) called Fabius *their shield* and Marcellus *their sword*, and used to say, that the steadiness and caution of the one, mixed with the vivacity and boldness of the other, made a compound very salutary to Rome. Hannibal, therefore, often meeting Marcellus, whose motions were like those of a torrent, found his force broken and diminished; and by Fabius, who moved with a silent but continuous stream, he was undermined and insensibly weakened. Such, in length, was the extremity he was reduced to, that he was tired of fighting Marcellus, and afraid of Fabius. And these were the persons he had generally to do with during the remainder of the war, as prætors, consuls, or proconsuls: for each of them was five times consul. It is true, Marcellus, in his fifth consulate, was drawn into his snare, and killed by means of an ambuscade. Hannibal often made the like attempts upon Fabius, exerting all his arts and stratagems, but without effect. Once only he deceived him, and had nearly led him into a fatal error. He forged letters to him, as from the principal inhabitants of Metapontum, offering to deliver up the city to him, and assuring him that those who had taken this resolution, only waited till he appeared before it. Fabius giving credit to these letters, ordered a party to be ready, intending to march thither in the night; but finding the auspices unpromising, he altered his design, and soon after discovered that the letters were forged by the artifice of Hannibal's, and that he was lying in ambush for him near the town. This perhaps may be ascribed to the favour and protection of the gods.

Fabius was persuaded that it was better to keep the cities from revolting, and to prevent any commotions among the allies, by affability and mildness, than to entertain every suspicion, or to use severity against those whom he suspected. It is reported of him, that being informed, that a certain Marcian in his army,¹ who was not inferior in courage or family to any among the allies, solicited some of his officers to desert, he did not treat him harshly, but acknowledged that he had been too much neglected; declaring at the same time, that he was now perfectly sensible how much his officers were to be blamed in distributing honours more of favour than regard to merit, and that for the future he should take it if he did apply to him when he made any request. This was followed with a present of a horse, and other

¹ Livy tells the story of Marcellus, which Pufendorf applies to Fabius.

marks of honour ; ■■■ from ■■■ the man behaved with great fidelity ■■■ service. ■■■ thought it hard, that, ■■■ who breed dogs and horses soften their stubborn tempers, and bring down their fierce spirits by ■■■ and kindness, rather ■■■ with whips and chains, he who has the command of men ■■■ not endeavour ■■■ correct their errors by gentleness and goodness, but ■■■ them even in a harsher and ■■■ violent ■■■ than garden ■■■ do the wild fig trees, wild pears and olives, whose nature they subdue by cultivation, and which by that ■■■ they bring ■■■ produce very agreeable fruit.

Another time, ■■■ of his officers informed him, that ■■■ of the soldiers, ■ native of Lucania, often quitted his post, and rambled ■■■ of the camp. Upon this report, he asked what kind of ■ man ■■■ in other respects ; and they all declared it ■■■ easy to ■■■ so good ■ soldier, doing him the justice to mention several extraordinary instances of his valour. On inquiring into the ■■■ of this irregularity, he found that the ■■■ passionately in love, ■■■ of seeing a young ■■■ he ventured ■■■ of the camp, and took ■ long and dangerous journey ■■■ every night. Hereupon Fabius gave orders to some of his men to find out the woman, and convey her into his own tent, but took care that the Lucanian should ■■■ know it. Then he ■■■ for him, and taking him aside, spoke to him as follows : " I very well know, that you have lain many nights out of the camp, in breach of the Roman discipline and laws ; at the same time I am not ignorant of your past services. In consideration of them, I forgive your present crime ; but for the future I will give you in charge to ■ person who shall be answerable for you." While the soldier stood much amazed, Fabius produced the woman, and putting her in his hands, thus expressed himself : " This is the person who engages for you that you will remain in camp ; and now we shall see whether there was not some traitorous design which drew you out, and which you made ■■■ love of this ■■■ ■ cloak for."

By means of another love affair, Fabius recovered the city of Tarentum, which had been treacherously delivered ■■■ Hannibal. A young man, a native of that place, who served under Fabius, had a sister there who loved him with great tenderness. This youth being informed, that ■ certain Brutian, ■■■ of the officers of the garrison which Hannibal had put in Tarentum, entertained ■ violent passion for his sister, ■■■ hoped ■■■ avail himself ■■■ this circumstance to ■■■ advantage of the Romans. Therefore, with the permission of Fabius, he returned to his sister at Tarentum under colour of having deserted. Some days passed during which ■■■ Brutian forbore his visits, for ■■■ supposed that her brother knew nothing of ■■■ ■■■ obliged the young ■■■ come to an explanation. " It has been currently reported," ■■■ he, " that you receive addresses from a man of some distinction. Pray, who is he ? If ■■■ ■■■ of honour and character, ■■■ they say ■■■ is, Mars, who confounds ■■■ things, takes ■■■ thought of what country he may be. What necessity imposes is no disgrace ; but ■■■ may

rather ■■■■ ourselves fortunate, at a time when justice yields ■ force, ■ that which force might compel ■ to, happens ■ ■ ■ disagreeable to our own inclinations." Thus encouraged, the young ■■■■ for ■ Brutian, and presented ■ to her brother. And ■ ■■ behaved ■ him in a kinder and ■■ complying ■■■■ through her brother's means, who was very indulgent ■ his passion, it was ■ very difficult ■ prevail with the Brutian, who ■■ deeply in love, and ■■ withal a mercenary, ■ deliver up the town, upon promises of great rewards from Fabius.

This is the account which ■■■■ historians give us: yet some say, that the ■■■■ by whom the Brutian ■■ gained, ■■■■ ■ Tarentine, but ■ Brutian; that she had been concubine ■ Fabius; and that when ■■ found the governor of Tarentum ■■ countryman and acquaintance, she told Fabius of it, and finding means, by approaching the walls, to make him a proposal, she drew ■■■■ the Roman interest.

During these transactions, Fabius, in order ■ make ■ diversion, ■■ directions to the garrison of Rhegium ■ lay ■■■■ Brutian territories, and, if possible, to make themselves masters of Caulonia. These were a body of 8,000 men, composed partly of deserters, and partly of the most worthless of that infamous band brought by Marcellus out of Sicily,¹ and therefore the loss of them would not be great, nor much lamented by the Romans. These ■■ he threw out as ■ bait for Hannibal, and by sacrificing them hoped to draw him to a distance from Tarentum. The design succeeded accordingly: for Hannibal marched with ■ forces to Caulonia, and Fabius in the meantime laid siege to Tarentum. The sixth day of the siege, the young man having settled the matter with the Brutian officer by ■■ of his sister, and having well observed the place where he kept guard and promised to let in the Romans, went ■ Fabius by night, and gave him an account of it. The consul moved to the appointed quarter, though ■■ entirely depending upon the promise that the town would ■ betrayed. There he himself ■ still, but ■ the ■■ time ordered ■ assault ■ every other part both by sea and land. This ■■ put in execution with great noise and tumult, which drew most of the Tarentines that way to assist the garrison ■■ repel the besiegers. Then the Brutian giving Fabius the signal, ■ scaled the walls and got possession of the town.

On this occasion Fabius ■■■■ to have indulged ■ criminal ambition.² For that it might not appear that the place ■■ betrayed him, he ordered ■■ Brutians to be put first to ■ sword. But he failed ■ ■■ design; for the former suspicion ■■ remained, and

¹ These men were brought from Sicily, not by Marcellus, but by his colleague Lævinus.

² Livy does not say, ■■ Fabius gave ■■ ■■ ■■ only says, "There were many ■■■■ slain, either through

ignorance, or through the ancient hatred which the Romans bore them, or because the Romans were desirous that Tarentum should seem to be taken sword in hand, rather than betrayed to them."

incurred, besides, the reproach of perfidy and inhumanity. Many of the Tarentines also were killed; 30,000 of them slaves; the army had plundered the town, and 3,000 talents brought to the public treasury. Every thing was ransacked, and the spoils heaped before Fabius. He reported that the officer who took the inventory, asked "What he would have them to do with the gods?" meaning the images and pictures: he answered, "Let me leave the Tarentines their angry gods." However, he carried away a *colossus* of Hercules which he afterwards put up in the Capitol, and set it on an equestrian pedestal of himself in brass.¹ Thus he showed himself inferior to Marcellus, in his skill for the arts, and still more so in mercy and humanity. Marcellus in this respect had greatly the advantage.

Hannibal hastened to the relief of Tarentum, and being within sight of it, when it was taken, he scrupled not to say publicly, "The Romans, too, have their Hannibal; for we have lost Tarentum in the same manner that we gained it." And in private he then first acknowledged to his friends, "That he had always thought it difficult, but now it was impossible, with the forces he had to conquer Italy."

Fabius for this was honoured with a triumph, more splendid than the former, having gloriously maintained the advantage against Hannibal, and baffled all his schemes with ease, just as a wrestler disengages himself from the arms of his antagonist whose grasp no longer retains the vigour. For Hannibal's army was now partly enervated with opulence and luxury, and partly impaired and worn with continual action.

Marcus Livius, who commanded in Tarentum, when it was betrayed to Hannibal, retired into the citadel, and held it till it was retaken by the Romans. This officer beheld with pain the honours conferred upon Fabius, and one day his envy and vanity drew from him this expression in the senate, "I, not Fabius, was the cause of recovering Tarentum." "True," said Fabius, laughing, "for if you had not lost the town, I had never recovered it."

Among other honours which the Romans paid to Fabius, they elected his son consul.² When he entered upon his office, and was speaking on a point relating to the war, the father, either on account of his age and infirmities, or else to try his son, mounted his horse, and rode up to him. The young consul seeing this distance, would not suffer it, but sent one of his lictors with orders to him to dismount, and to lead his foot to the consul, if he had occasion to apply to him. The whole assembly moved at this, and turned their eyes upon Fabius, by their silence and their looks expressing their disapprobation of the indignity offered to his character. He was instantly alighted, and went to his father, and embraced him with great tenderness. "My son," said he,

1 The gods were in the attitude of combatants; and they appeared to fight against the Tarentines.

2 The work of Lysippus.

3 The son was elected consul four years before the father took the triumph.

' I applaud your sentiments and your behaviour. You know what a people you command, and have a just sense of the dignity of your office. This was the way that we and our forefathers took to advance Rome to her present height of glory, always considering the honour and interest of our country before that of ourselves and children.'

And indeed it is reported that the great grandfather of our Fabius,¹ though he was one of the greatest men in Rome, whether we consider his reputation or authority, though he had been five times consul, and had been honoured with several glorious triumphs on account of his valour in some of the last importance, yet he descended to be a lieutenant to his son then consul,² in an expedition against the Samnites. While his son, in a triumph which he decreed him, drove into Rome in a chariot and four, he with others followed him on horseback. Thus, while he had authority over his son, considered as a private man, and while he was both especially and reputedly the considerable member of the commonwealth, yet he gloriéd in showing his subjection to the laws and to the magistrate. Nor was this the only part of his character that deserves to be admired.

When Fabius Maximus had the misfortune to lose his son, he bore that loss with great moderation, as became a wise man and a good father, and the funeral oration,³ which on occasion of the death of illustrious men is usually pronounced by some near kinsman, he delivered himself, and having committed it to writing, made it public.

When Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was sent proconsul into Spain, had defeated the Carthaginians in many battles, and driven them out of that province, and when he had, moreover, reduced several nations and nations under the obedience of Rome, returning loaded with spoil, he was received with great acclamations and general joy. Being appointed consul, and finding that the people expected something great and striking in his hands, he considered it as an antiquated method and worthy only of the inactivity of an old man, to watch the motions of Hannibal in Italy, he therefore determined to move the seat of war from thence to Africa, to fill the African country with his legions, to extend his ravages far and wide, and to attempt Carthage itself. With this view he exerted all his talents to bring the people into his design. But Fabius, on this occasion, filled the city with alarms, as if the commonwealth was going to be brought into the most extreme danger by a rash and indiscreet young man, so short, he scrupled not to say

¹ Fabius Rullus

² Fabius was who had been defeated by the Samnites and would have been degraded had not his father prevailed to attend him in his second election as his lieutenant.

³ Cicero in his ORATION on all the speaks in high terms, both of Fabius and

this oration of his. Many extraordinary things have I known in that way but nothing more admirable than the manner in which he bore the death of his son a person of great merit and of great dignity. His eulogium is in our hands, and while we read it do we not look down on the test of the philosophers?

any thing he thought likely to **countrymen** from embracing the proposal. With **he** carried his point.¹ But **people** believing that his opposition to Scipio proceeded either from envy of his success, **a** secret fear th^t if this young hero should perform some signal exploit, **war**, or even remove **of** Italy, **slow** proceedings through the course of **many** years might be imputed **indolence**.

To me Fabius **have** opposed **of** Scipio, from **of** caution **prudence**, and **have** really thought the danger attending his project great ; but in the progress of the opposition, I think he went too great lengths, misled by ambition and **jealousy** of Scipio's rising glory. For he applied **Crassus**, the colleague of Scipio, and endeavoured **persuade** him **yield** that province to Scipio, but **he** thought it proper to conduct the war in th^t manner, to go himself against Carthage.² Nay, he **hindered** the raising of money for that expedition : so that Scipio **obliged** to **the** supplies as he could : and he effected it through his interest with the cities of Hetruria, which were wholly devoted to him.³ As for Crassus, he stayed **home**, partly induced to it by his disposition, which **mild** and peaceful, and partly by the **of** religion, which **entrusted** to him as high priest.

Fabius, therefore, took another method to traverse the design. He endeavoured to prevent the young men who offered to go volunteers from giving in their names, and loudly declared both in the **and forum**, "That Scipio **not** only himself avoid Hannibal, but intended **carry** away with him the remaining strength of Italy, persuading the young men to abandon their parents, their wives, and native city, whilst an unsubdued and potent enemy was still **their** doors." With these assertions he so terrified the people, that they allowed Scipio to take with him only the legions that were in Sicily, and **of** those **who** had served him with so much fidelity in Spain. In this particular Fabius **have** followed the dictates of his own cautious temper.

After Scipio **gone** over into Africa, **account** **brought** to Rome, of his glorious and wonderful achievements. This account **followed** by rich spoils, which confirmed it. A Numidian king was taken prisoner : two camps **burned** and destroyed, and in them **a** vast number of **men**, arms, and ; and the Carthaginians **orders** to Hannibal to quit his fruitless hopes **Italy**, and **home** **defend** **country**. Whilst

¹ See the debates in **Senate** on that occasion in Livy, **xxviii**.

² This Crassus could not do : for being Pontifex Maximus, it was necessary that he should remain in Italy.

³ Scipio was empowered to ask of the allies all things **for** building and sculpting **the** **the** **the**

of the provinces and **voluntarily** **themselves** **him** **corn**, iron, timber, cloth for sails, &c., so that in 40 days **cutting** **timber**, he was in a **to** **with** a fleet of 50 new galleys, besides **he** **had** before. There went with him about 7,000 volunteers.

every tongue was applauding these exploits of Scipio, Fabius proposed that his successor should be appointed, without any shadow of reason for it, except what this well-known maxim implies, viz., "That it is dangerous to meddle with affairs of such importance as the fortunes of one man, because it is more likely that he will be always successful."

By this he offended the people, who considered him a captious and envious man; as one whose courage and hopes were lost in the dregs of years, and who therefore looked upon himself as more formidable than he really was. Nay, when he embarked his army and quitted Italy, Fabius ceased to disturb the general joy and damp the spirits of Rome. For he took the liberty to affirm, "That the commonwealth was owing to her last and worst trial; that she had the most to dread the efforts of Hannibal when he arrived in Africa, and attack her under the walls of Carthage; that Scipio would have to do with an army yet more powerful with the blood of many Roman generals, dictators, and consuls." The city was alarmed at these declamations, and though the danger was removed into Africa, the danger seemed to approach nearer Rome than ever.

However, soon after, Scipio defeated Hannibal in a pitched battle, pulled down the pride of Carthage and trod it under foot. This afforded the Romans a pleasure beyond all their hopes, and restored a firmness to their empire, which had been shaken with so many tempests. But Fabius Maximus did not live to the end of the war, to hear of the overthrow of Hannibal, or to see the prosperity of his country re-established: for about the time that Hannibal left Italy, he fell sick and died. We are assured, that Epaminondas died so poor, that the Thebans buried him at the public charge; for at his death nothing was found in his house but an iron spit.¹ The expense of Fabius's funeral was not indeed defrayed out of the Roman treasury, but every citizen contributed a small piece of money towards it; not that he died without effects, but that they buried him as the father of the people; and that the honours paid him at his funeral might be suitable to the dignity of his life.

MARCELLUS.

MARCUS CLAUDIUS, who was five times consul, was the grandfather of Marcus; and, according to Posidonius, was the founder of his family that

¹ Xylander is of opinion, that the word *Obeliskos* in this place does not signify a spit or piece of money; and he shows from a passage in the life of Lyander, that money anciently was made in a

pyramidal form. But he adds, that he is older than the iron money was not in use at Thebes, and Plutarch says that this obeliskos was of iron.

bore the surname of Marcellus, that is, *Martial*. He had indeed, ■ great deal of military experience; his make ■ strong, his arm ■ irresistible, and he was naturally inclined to ■ though impetuous and lofty in ■ combat, on other occasions ■ modest and humane. He ■ so far a lover of the Grecian learning and eloquence, ■ to honour and admire those that excelled in them, though his employments prevented his making that progress in them which he desired. For if Heaven ■ designed ■ any men,

"In war's rude lists should combat, from youth to age,"

■ Homer expresses it, certainly ■ the principal Romans of those times. In their youth they ■ contend with the Carthaginians for the island of Sicily, in their middle age with the Gauls for Italy itself, and, in their old age again, with the Carthaginians and Hannibal. Thus, ■ in ■ they had ■ the common relaxation and repose, but were ■ forth by their birth and their merit ■ accept of military commands.

As for Marcellus, there ■ no kind of fighting in which he was not admirably well skilled; but in single combat ■ excelled himself. He, therefore, never refused a challenge, or failed of killing the challenger. In Sicily, seeing ■ brother Otacilius in great danger, he covered him with ■ shield, slew those that attacked him, and saved ■ life. For those things he received from ■ generals crowns and other military honours, while ■ youth; and his reputation increasing every day, the people appointed him ■ the office of *curule ædile*, and ■ præ ■ to that of *augur*. This ■ kind of sacerdotal function ■ which the law assigns the care of that divination which is taken from the flights of birds.

After the first Carthaginian war,¹ which had lasted 22 years, Rome ■ engaged in a ■ with the Gauls. The Insubrians, ■ Celtic nation, who ■ that part of Italy which lies ■ the foot of the Alps, though very powerful in themselves, called in the assistance of the *Gesætes*, a people of Gaul, who fight for pay on such occasions. It ■ a wonderful and fortunate thing for the Roman people, that the Gallic war did not break ■ the time with the Punic; and that the Gauls observing an ■ trality ■ time, as if they had waited to take up the conqueror,

¹ Plutarch is a little mistaken here in his chronology. The first Punic war ■ years, for it began in the year of ■ 489, and peace was made with the Carthaginians in the year 512. The Gauls continued quiet all that time, and did not begin to stir till four years after. Then they advanced to Ariminum; but the Bell mutinying against their leaders, slew the kings ■ and Calætes; after which the Gauls fell upon each other, and numbers were slain; ■ survived returned home ■ years after this,

the Gauls began to prepare for a new war, on account of the division which Plutarch had made of the lands in the Picena, taken from the Senones of Gallia Cisalpina. These preparations were carrying on a long time; and it was eight years after that division before the war began in earnest under their chiefs Comagobanus and Anerastes, when L. Æmilius Papus and C. Attilius Regulus were consuls, in the 525th year of Rome, and the third year of Olympiad 138. Polyb. l. 2.

[] attack the Romans till they were victorious, and [] leisure to receive them. However, this war was [] a [] alarming [] Romans, as well [] account of [] vicinity of the Gauls, as [] character of [] as warriors. They were, indeed, [] enemy whom they dreaded most; for they [] made themselves [] Rome; and from that time it [] been provided by law, that the priests should [] exempted from bearing arms, except [] defend [] city against the Gauls.

The [] preparations they [] [] further proofs of their fears, (for it is said that [] many thousands [] Romans [] never [] in arms either before or since); and so [] the [] and extraordinary sacrifices which they offered. On other occasions, they had not adopted the rites of barbarous and savage nations, but their religious customs [] been agreeable [] the mild [] merciful ceremonies of the Greeks: yet on the appearance [] this war, [] they [] forced [] comply with certain [] found in the books of the Sibyls; and thereupon they buried two Greeks,¹ a man and a woman, and likewise two Gauls, [] of each sex, alive [] beast-market. A thing that gave rise [] certain private and mysterious rites, which still continue [] be performed in the month of November.

In the beginning of the war the Romans sometimes gained great advantages, and sometimes were no less signally defeated; but there was no decisive action, [] the consulate of Flaminius and Furius, who led a very powerful army against the Insubriana. Then, [] [] told, the river which runs through the Picene, was seen flowing with blood, and that three moons appeared [] the city of Ariminum. But *the priests who were to observe the flight of birds at the time of choosing consuls*, affirmed that the election [] faulty and inauspicious. The senate, therefore, immediately sent letters to the camp, to recall the consuls, insisting that they should return without loss of time, and resign their office, and forbidding them [] act [] against the enemy [] consequence of their late appointment.

Flaminius having received these letters, deferred opening them till he [] engaged and routed the barbarians, and [] their country.² Therefore, when he returned loaded with spoils, the people did not [] out to meet him; and because he did not directly

¹ They offered the same sacrifice at the beginning of the second Punic war. Liv. l. xlii., §. 7.

² Flaminius was not entitled to this success by his conduct. He gave battle with a river behind him, where there was not room for his men to rally or retreat, if they had been broken. But possibly he might make such a disposition of his forces, to show them that they must either conquer or die; for he knew that he was acting against the intentions of the senate, and that nothing but success could bring him off. Indeed, he was naturally rash and daring. It was the

skill and management of the legendary tribesmen which made [] the consul's imprudence. They distributed among the soldiers of the first line the pikes of the Triarii, to prevent the enemy from making use of their swords; and when the first ardour of the Gauls was over, they ordered the Romans to shorten their swords, close with the enemy, so as to leave [] no room to lift up their arms [] [] which they did without running any [] themselves *the swords of the Gauls having* no p. []

obey the order that recalled him, he treated it with contempt, he was in danger of losing his triumph. As soon as the triumph was over, both he and his colleagues were deposed, and reduced to the rank of private citizens. So much regard had the Romans for religion, referring all their affairs to the good pleasure of the gods, and, in their greatest prosperity, not suffering any neglect of the forms of divination and other sacred usages; for they were fully persuaded, that it was a matter of greater importance, the preservation of the state, than to have their generals obedient to the gods, even when they were victorious in the field.

To this purpose, the following story is remarkable:—Tiberius Sempronius, who was much respected for his valour and probity by any one in Rome, while consul, named Scipio Nasica and Caius Marcius his colleagues. When they were gone into the province allotted them, Sempronius happening to go with a book which contained the sacred regulations for the conduct of war, found that there was one particular which he did not know before. It was this: "When the consul goes to take the auspices in a house or tent without the city, hired for that purpose, and is obliged by some necessary business to return into the city before any sign appears to him, he must not make use of that lodge again, but take another, and there begin his observations anew." Sempronius was ignorant of this, when he consulted those two consuls, for he had twice made use of the same place; but when he perceived his error, he made the senate acquainted with it. They, for their part, did not lightly perceive it as a defect, but wrote to the consuls about it; who left their provinces and returned with all speed to Rome, where they laid down their offices. This did not happen till 60 years after the affair of which we are now speaking.

But about that very time, two priests of the best families of Rome, Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Sulpicius, were degraded from the priesthood; the former because he did not present the entrails of the victim according to rule; and the latter because, when he was sacrificing, the tuft of his cap, which was such an ornament to the *Flamines* wear, fell off. And because the squeaking of a rat happened to be heard, at the moment that Minucius the dictator appointed Caius Flaminius his general of horse, the people obliged him to quit their posts, and appointed others in their stead. But while they observed these small things with such exactness, they were in any way of superstition, for they neither changed anything beyond the ancient ceremonies.

Flaminius and his colleagues being deposed from the consulship, the magistrates, called *interreges*, nominated Marcellus to that high office; who, when he entered upon it, took Cneius Cornelius

1 This word is here used in the literal sense.

2 These were *interreges*, who, when there were no legal magistrates in being, were appointed to hold the consuls for a short

time only. The title of *interrex*, which was given them while the government was regal, was continued to them under the commonwealth.

for ■■■ colleague. Though ■■■ Gauls are ■■■ ■■■ have ■■■ ■■■ posed ■■■ ■■■ reconciliation, ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ peaceably inclined, yet the people ■■■ the instigation of ■■■ ■■■ are for ■■■ ■■■. However, a peace ■■■ was concluded ; which seems to have been broken by the Gesatae, ■■■ having passed the Alps, with 30,000 men, prevailed with the Insubrians ■■■ join them with much greater numbers. Elated with their strength, they marched immediately to Acerræ, ¹ a city ■■■ the ■■■ of the Po. There Viridomarus, king of the Gesatae, took 10,000 ■■■ from the main body, ■■■ with this body laid ■■■ all ■■■ country about the river.

When Marcellus was informed of their march, he sent his colleagues before Acerrie, with a heavy armed infantry, and the third part of the horse; and leading with him the best of the cavalry, and about 600 of the light-armed foot, he kept forward day and night till he came up with the 1,000 Gesates Clastidium, a nation of the Gauls, which had very lately submitted to the Romans. He had not time to give his troops any refreshment; for the barbarians immediately perceived his approach, and despised his attempt, as he had but a handful of infantry, and they made no account of his cavalry. These, as well as the other Gauls being skilled in fighting on horseback, thought they had the advantage in this respect; and, besides they greatly exceeded Marcellus in numbers. They marched, therefore, directly against him, their king at their head, with great impetuosity and dreadful menaces, as if sure of crushing him at once. Marcellus, because his party was but small, to prevent its being surrounded, extended the wings of his cavalry, thinning and widening the line, till he presented a front nearly equal to that of the enemy. His army now advancing to the charge, when his horse, terrified with the shouts of the Gauls, turned short, and forcibly carried him back. Marcellus fearing that this, interpreted by superstition, should bring some disorder in his troops, quickly turned his horse again towards the enemy, and then paid his adorations to the sun; as if that accident had happened, not by accident but design, for the Romans always turn round when they worship the gods. Upon the point of engaging, he vowed to Jupiter Feretrius the choicest of the enemy's arms. In the meantime the king of the Gauls spied him, and judging by the ensigns of authority that he was consul, he set spurs to his horse, and advanced in considerable way before the rest, brandishing his spear and loudly challenging him to the combat. He was distinguished from the rest of the Gauls by his stature, as well as by his armour, which, being of gold and silver, and of lively colours, shone like lightning. As Marcellus viewed the disposition of the enemy's forces, he cast his eyes upon the rich suit of armour, concluding that

■■■ to Jupiter would be accomplished, ■■ rushed upon the Gaul, and pierced his breast-plate ■■ his spear, which stroke, together with the weight and force of the consul's horse, brought him to the ground, and with two or three more blows ■■ despatched him. He then leaped from his horse, and lifting up his spoils towards heaven he said, "O Jupiter *Feretrius*, who observest the deeds of great warriors and generals in battle, I ■■ call thee to witness, ■■ I am the third Roman consul and general who have, with my ■■ hands, slain ■■ general and a king! To thee I contribute the most excellent spoils. Do thou grant ■■ equal ■■■ in the prosecution of this war."

When this prayer ■■ ended, the Roman cavalry encountered both the enemy's horse and foot at the ■■ time, and gained a victory, ■■ only great in itself, but peculiar in its kind, for ■■ have ■■ account of such ■■ handful of cavalry beating such numbers both of horse and foot, either before or since. Marcellus having killed ■■ greatest part of the enemy, and taken their arms and baggage, returned ■■ his colleague,¹ who had no such good success against the Gauls before Milan, which is a great ■■ populous city, and the metropolis of that country. For this reason the Gauls defended it, with such spirit and resolution that Scipio, instead of besieging it, seemed rather besieged himself. But upon the return of Marcellus, the Gesates, understanding that their king was slain, and ■■ army defeated, drew off their forces; and so Milan was taken;² and ■■ Gauls surrendering the rest of their cities, and referring every thing to the equity of the Romans, obtained reasonable conditions of peace.

The senate decreed a triumph ■■ Marcellus only; and, whether we consider the rich spoils that were displayed in it, *the prodigious size of the captives*, or the magnificence with which the whole was conducted, it ■■ ■■ of the most splendid that ■■ ■■ seen. But the ■■ agreeable and most ■■■ spectacle ■■ Marcellus himself, carrying the ■■■ of Viridomarus, which he vowed ■■ Jupiter. He had cut the trunk of an oak in the form of ■■ trophy, which he adorned with the spoils of that barbarian, placing every part of his ■■ in handsome order. When the procession began ■■ move, he mounted his chariot, which was drawn by four horses, ■■ passed through the city with the trophy ■■ ■■ shoulders, which was ■■ noblest ■■ of ■■ whole triumph. The army followed, clad in elegant armour, and *singing odes composed for that occasion, and other ■■ of triumph, in honour of Jupiter and their general.*

When ■■ ■■ ■■ temple of Jupiter *Feretrius* he ■■ up and consecrated the trophy, being ■■ ■■ and last general, who as yet ■■ been so gloriously distinguished. The first was Romulus,

¹ ■■ ■■ ■■ ■■ Marcellus, Arona had been taken by ■■ colleague Scipio, who from thence had marched to ■■ Mediolanum, ■■ Milan.

² Comum also, ■■■ city of great importance, situated ■■ ■■ Italy, from the Alps to the Ionian sea, became entirely Roman.

after he slain Acron, king of the Cærinenses; Coraelius Cossus, who slew Volumnius the Tuscan, the second; third and last Marcellus, killed Viridomarus, king of the Gauls. god whom these spoils devoted, Jupiter, surnamed *Feretrius* (as say) from the Greek word *Phaëtron* which signifies a car, for trophy borne such a carriage, and the Greek language was much mixed with the Latin. Others say, Jupiter had that appellation, because he strikes with lightning, for the Latin word *seire* signifies strike. Others again will have it, that it is on account of the strokes are given in battle; for even now, when Romans charge or pursue enemy, they encourage other by calling out *feri feri, strike, strike them down*. What they from the field, they call by the general name of *spoils*, but those which a Roman general takes from the general of the enemy, they call *opime spoils*. It is indeed said, that Numa Pompilius, in his Commentaries, makes mention of *opime spoils* of the first, second, and order: that he directed the first to be consecrated Jupiter, the second Mars, and the third Quirinus; and that the persons who took the first should be rewarded with 300 *asses*, the second, with 200, and the third, 100. But the most received opinion is, that those of the first sort only should be honoured with the name *opime*, which a general takes in a pitched battle, when he kills the enemy's general with his hand.

The Romans thought themselves so happy in the glorious period put to this, that they made an offering to Apollo at Delphi of a golden cup in testimony of their gratitude: they also liberally shared the spoils with the confederate cities, and made a very handsome present out of them to Hiero, king of Syracuse, their friend and ally.

Some time after this, Hannibal having entered Italy, Marcellus sent with a fleet Sicily. The continued to and that unfortunate blow received at Cannæ, by which many thousands of Romans. The few that escaped fled to Canusium; and it expected that Hannibal, who thus destroyed strength of the Roman forces, would march directly Rome. Hereupon, Marcellus first 1500 of his guard the city, and afterwards, by order of the senate, he Canusium, drew the troops that had retired thither, and marched at their head to keep the country from being ravaged by the enemy.

The had by time carried off the of the nobility, and their best officers. Still, indeed, there remained Fabius Maximus, a highly respected for probity and prudence; but his extraordinary avoiding loss passed for want of spirit and incapacity for action. The Romans, therefore, considering him as a proper person for the defensive, but the offensive part of war, had recourse; and wisely tempering boldness and activity with cautious conduct of Fabius, they sometimes appointed consuls together, and sometimes sent the the quality

Consul, ■■■ the other in ■■■ of Proconsul. Posidonius ■■■ ■■■ Fabius ■■■ called ■■■ *buckler*, and Marcellus *the sword*: but Hannibal himself said, "He stood ■■■ fear of Fabius as his school-master, and of Marcellus as ■■■ adversary: for ■■■ received hurt from ■■■ latter, and the former prevented ■■■ doing hurt himself."

Hannibal's soldiers, elated ■■■ their victory grew careless, and, straggling ■■■ ■■■ camp, roamed about the country; where Marcellus fell upon them, and ■■■ off great numbers. After this, he ■■■ ■■■ the relief of Naples ■■■ Nola. The Neapolitans he confirmed ■■■ the Roman interest, to which they were themselves well inclined: but when he entered Nola, he found great divisions there, the ■■■ of that city being unable ■■■ restrain the commonalty who ■■■ attached ■■■ Hannibal. There was a citizen in this place named Bandius, well born ■■■ celebrated for his valour: for he greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Cannæ, where, after killing ■■■ of Carthaginians, he was ■■■ last found upon ■■■ heap of dead bodies, covered with wounds. Hannibal, admiring his bravery, dismissed him not only without ransom, but with handsome presents, honouring him with his friendship and admission to the rights of hospitality. Bandius, in gratitude for these favours, heartily espoused the party of Hannibal, and by his authority drew the people on ■■■ revolt. Marcellus thought it wrong to put a man to death, who had gloriously fought the battles of Rome. Besides, the general had so engaging a ■■■ grafted upon his native humanity, that he could hardly ■■■ of attracting the regards of a man of a great and generous spirit. One day, Bandius happening to salute him, Marcellus asked who he was: not that he ■■■ ■■■ stranger ■■■ his person, but that he might have an opportunity to introduce what he had ■■■ say. Being told his name ■■■ Lucius Bandius, "What!" says Marcellus, in seeming admiration, "that Bandius who has been so much ■■■ of in Rome for his gallant behaviour ■■■ Cannæ, who indeed was the only ■■■ that did not abandon the consul Æmilius, but received in his ■■■ body ■■■ of the shafts that ■■■ aimed at him!" Bandius saying, he was the very person, and showing some of his scars, "Why then," replied Marcellus, "when you bore about you such marks of your regard for us, ■■■d ■■■ you ■■■ to us one of the first? Do ■■■ seem ■■■ you slow to reward the virtue of ■■■ friend, who ■■■ honoured even by his enemies?" After this obliging discourse, ■■■ embraced him, and made him ■■■ present of ■■■ war horse, and 500 drachmas in ■■■.

From this time Bandius ■■■ very cordially attached to Marcellus, and constantly informed him of ■■■ proceedings of ■■■ opposite party who ■■■ very numerous, and who ■■■ resolved, when ■■■ Romans marched out against the enemy, to plunder their baggage. Hereupon Marcellus drew ■■■ forces in order of battle within the city, placed ■■■ baggage near the gates, and published ■■■ edict, forbidding ■■■ inhabitants to appear upon ■■■ walls. Hannibal seeing no hostile appearance, concluded that everything was

in great disorder the city, therefore he approached with little precaution. At this moment Marcellus commanded the gate that opened him to be opened, and sallying the enemy of cavalry, he charged the enemy in front. Soon after the infantry rushed out another gate, loud shouts. And while Hannibal dividing his forces, to oppose these two parties, a third gate opened, and the rest of the Roman troops issuing out, attacked the enemy another side, who greatly disconcerted such unexpected sally, and who made but a faint resistance against those with whom they were first engaged, by reason of their being upon by another body.

Then it was that Hannibal's men, struck with terror, covered with wounds, gave back before the Romans, and were driven from their camp. Above 5000 of them are said to have been slain, whereas of the Romans there fell not more than 500. Livy does not, indeed, make this defeat and loss on the Carthaginian side to have been so considerable; he only affirms that Hannibal gained great honour by this battle, and that the courage of the Romans was wonderfully restored after their misfortunes, who were no longer believed that they had to do with an enemy that was invincible, but who was liable to suffer in his turn.

For this reason, the people called Marcellus, though absent, to fill the place of one of the consuls¹ who was dead, and prevailed, against the sense of the magistrates, to have the election put off till his return. Upon his arrival, he was unanimously chosen consul; but it happening at that time, the augurs saw that the consul was unfortunate; and, as they did not choose to declare it such, for fear of the people,² Marcellus voluntarily laid down the office. Notwithstanding this, he had the command of the army continued to him, in quality of Proconsul, and returned immediately to Nola, from whence he made excursions to chastise those that had declared for the Carthaginians. Hannibal made haste to their assistance, offered him battle, which he declined. But some days after, when he saw Hannibal, no longer expecting a battle, he sent out the greatest part of his army to plunder the country, he attacked him vigorously, having provided the foot with long spears, such they use in sea-fights, they taught to hurl the Carthaginians at a distance, who, for their part, were skilled in the use of the javelin, and only fought with short swords. For all that

¹ This was Albinus, who was cut off with all his army by the Bell in a vast forest, called the Grove of the Forest of the Gods. It seems they had cut all the trees near the sea and he was to pass in a manner that they might be tumbled upon his army with the least motion.

² Marcellus was a p'etorian, as was also his colleague Camptinus; and (says, unwilling to see two

Consuls at the same time, the people pronounced the election of Marcellus disagreeable to the gods. But the people would not have acquiesced in the declaration of the augurs, had not Marcellus showed himself on this occasion as zealous a republican as he was a great commander, and refused that honour which had not the sanction of all his fellow-citizens.

attempted to make head against the Romans, [REDACTED] obliged [REDACTED] give way, [REDACTED] fly in great confusion, leaving 5000 men slain upon the field; ¹ besides the loss of four elephants killed, and two taken. What was of still greater importance, the third day after the battle, ² above 300 horse, Spaniards, and Numidians, came [REDACTED] Marcellus. A misfortune which never before happened to Hannibal; for though his army [REDACTED] collected from several barbarous nations, different both [REDACTED] their [REDACTED] and their language, yet [REDACTED] had [REDACTED] long time preserved [REDACTED] perfect unanimity throughout the whole. This body of horse [REDACTED] continued faithful to Marcellus, and those that [REDACTED] ceded him in the command.³

Marcellus, being appointed consul the third time, passed over into Sicily.⁴ For Hannibal's great [REDACTED] had encouraged the Carthaginians again [REDACTED] support their claim [REDACTED] that island; and they [REDACTED] rather, because the affairs of Syracuse [REDACTED] in [REDACTED] confusion upon the death of Hieronymus ⁵ its sovereign. On this account the Romans had already [REDACTED] an army thither under the command of Appius Claudius.⁶

The command devolving upon Marcellus, he [REDACTED] arrived in Sicily, than [REDACTED] great number of Romans came to throw themselves at his feet, and represent to him their distress. Of those that fought against Hannibal at Cannæ, [REDACTED] escaped by flight, and others [REDACTED] taken prisoners; the latter in such numbers, that it was thought the Romans [REDACTED] want men to defend the walls of their capital. Yet that commonwealth had so much firmness and elevation of mind, that though Hannibal offered to release the prisoners for [REDACTED] very inconsiderable ransom, they refused it by a public act, and left them [REDACTED] be put to death or sold out of Italy. As for those that had saved themselves by flight, they sent them into Sicily, with [REDACTED] order not to set foot [REDACTED] Italian ground during [REDACTED] with Hannibal. These came to Marcellus [REDACTED] a body, and

¹ On the Roman [REDACTED] there was not [REDACTED] killed. Liv. lib. xxiii. a. 38.

² Livy makes them 1372. It is therefore probable that we should read in this place, 1300 horse.

³ Marcellus beat Hannibal a third time before Nola; and had Claudius Nero, who was sent out to take a circuit and attack the Carthaginians in the rear, come up in time, that day would probably have made reprisals for the loss sustained at Cannæ. Liv. lib. xxiv. 17.

⁴ [REDACTED] the second year of Olympiad 141, the [REDACTED] of Rome, and [REDACTED]

⁵ Hieronymus was murdered by his own subjects at Leontium, the consulars having prevailed on Dinomenes, one of his guards, to favour their attack. He was the son of Gelo and the grandson of Hiero. His father Gelo died first, and afterwards his grandfather, being 90 years old; and Hieronymus, who was not then 15, was slain some months after. [REDACTED] three deaths happened towards the latter

end of the year that preceded [REDACTED] third consulate.

⁶ Appius Claudius, who was sent into Sicily, in quality of prætor, was there before the death of Hieronymus. That young prince having a turn for gallantry, only laughed at the Roman Ambassadors: "I will ask you," said he, "but our question: Who were conquerors at Cannæ, you or the Carthaginians? I am not so much surprised of that battle, that I should be glad to know all the particulars of it." And again, "Let the Romans [REDACTED] all the gold, the corn, and the other præsums, that they drew from my grandfather, and consent that the river Liris be the common boundary between us, and I will renew the ancient treaties with them." Some writers are of opinion that the Roman prætor was not entirely unconcerned in a plot which was so useful to his republic.

falling on their knees, begged with lamentations and floods of tears, the favour of being admitted again into the army, promising make it appear by their future behaviour, that that defeat owing to their misfortune, and not to their cowardice. Marcellus, moved with compassion, wrote to the senate, desiring leave to recruit his army with these exiles, he should find occasion. After much deliberation, the senate signified by a decree, "That the commonwealth had no need of the service of cowards: Marcellus, however, might employ them if he pleased, but in condition that he did not bestow upon any of them crowns, or other honorary rewards." This decree gave Marcellus some uneasiness, and after he returned from the war in Sicily, he expostulated with the senate, complained, "That for his sake they would allow him to be freed from infamy those unfortunate citizens."

His first care, after he arrived in Sicily, was to make reprisals for the injury received from Hippocrates, the Syracusan general, who, to gratify the Carthaginians, and by their aid to himself, had attacked the Romans, and killed great numbers of them, in the district of Leontium. Marcellus, therefore, laid siege to that city, and took it by storm, but did no harm to the inhabitants; only such deserters as he found there he ordered to be beaten with rods, and then put to death. Hippocrates took care to give the Syracusans the first notice of the taking of Leontium, assuring them at the same time, that Marcellus had put to the sword all that were able to bear arms; and while they were under great consternation at this news, he suddenly upon the city, and made himself master of it.

Hereupon Marcellus marched with his whole army, and encamped before Syracuse. But before he attempted anything against it, he sent ambassadors with a true account of what he had done at Leontium. As this information had no effect with the Syracusans, who were entirely in the power of Hippocrates,¹ he made attacks both by sea and land, Appius Claudius commanding the land forces, and himself the fleet, which consisted of galleys, of five banks of oars, of 100 of 60 and missive weapons. Besides these, he had a prodigious machine, carried upon eight galleys fastened together, with which he approached the walls, relying upon the number of his batteries, and other instruments of war, as well as on his own great character. But Archimedes despised all this, and confided in the superiority of his engines: though he did not think the inventing of them an object worthy of his serious studies, but only reckoned them among the trifles of geometry. Nor was he gone so far, but he was pressing instances of king Hiero, who entreated him to turn his abstracted notions to the service of sense, and to make his

¹ Hieronymus being assassinated, and the commonwealth restored, Hippocrates, Hannibal's agent, being the Syracusan extraction, had the address to get themselves admitted into the num-

ber of senators. In the year of which, u. found means to subvert the dominion with Rome, in spite of the opposition of such of the pretors as had the interest of their country at heart.

reasonings more intelligible to ■■■ generality ■■ mankind, applying ■■■ the ■■■ common life.

The first that turned their thoughts to *mechanics*, a branch of knowledge which came afterwards to be ■■ much admired, were Eudoxus and Archytas, who thus gave a variety and an agreeable ■■■ geometry, and confirmed certain problems by sensible experiments and ■■■ use of instruments, which could ■■■ demonstrated in ■■■ way of theorem. That problem, ■■■ example, of ■■■ proportional lines, which ■■■ found ■■■ geometrically, and yet ■■■ necessary for ■■■ solution of other questions, they solved mechanically, by the assistance ■■ certain instruments ■■■ *metastabes*, ■■■ from conic sections. ■■■ when Plato inveighed against them, with great indignation, ■■ corrupting and debasing ■■■ excellence of geometry, by making her descend ■■■ incorporeal and intellectual ■■ corporeal and sensible things, and obliging her to make ■■■ of matter, which requires much manual labour, and is the object of servile trades; ■■■ were separated from geometry, and being ■ long ■■■ despised by the philosopher, were considered as a branch of ■■ military art.

Archimedes one day asserted to king Hiero, whose kinsman and friend he was, this proposition, that with a given power he could move any given weight whatever; nay, it is said, from the confidence he ■■■ in his demonstration, he ventured to affirm, that if there ■■■ another earth besides this we inhabit, by going into that, he would move ■■■ wherever he pleased. Hiero, full of wonder, begged of him ■■ evince the truth of his proposition by moving ■■■ great weight with a small power. In compliance with which, Archimedes caused one of the king's galleys ■■ be drawn on shore with many hands and much labour; ■■■ having well manned her, and put on board her usual loading, he placed himself at ■ distance, and without any pains, only moving with his hand the end of ■ machine, which consisted of ■ variety of ■■■ and pulleys, he drew her ■■ him ■■ smooth ■■■ gentle ■■ manner ■■ if she had been under sail. The king, quite astonished ■■■ the force of his art, prevailed with Archimedes to make for ■■■ all ■■■ of engines and machines which could be used either for attack ■■ defence in ■■ siege. These, however, he ■■■ made ■■■ of, the greatest part of his reign being blessed with tranquillity; but they were extremely serviceable to the Syracusans on ■■ present occasion, who with such ■ number of machines, had ■■ inventor ■■ direct them.

■■■ the Romans attacked them ■■■ by ■■■ land, they ■■■ struck dumb with terror, imagining they could ■■■ possibly resist such numerous forces and so furious an assault. But Archimedes ■■■ began to play his engines, and they shot against the ■■■ forces ■■ ■■■ of missive weapons and stones of ■■ enormous size, with ■■ ■■■ a noise and rapidity that nothing could stand ■■■ them; they overturned ■■■ and crushed whatever ■■■ ■■ way, and spread ■■■ disorder throughout ■■

ranks. On the [] towards [] sea were erected [] machines, putting [] a sudden, over the walls, huge beams with the [] tackle, which striking with [] prodigious [] the enemy's [] sunk them [] once; while other ships [] [] prows by iron grapples or hooks,¹ like the beaks [] cranes, [] [] end [] [] stern, were plunged to [] bottom of the sea; [] others again by ropes and grapples, [] drawn towards the shore, [] after being whirled about, and [] against [] rocks that projected below [] walls, [] broken [] pieces, and the crews perished. Very often [] ship [] [] above [] sea, suspended and twirling in the air, presented a most [] spectacle. There [] swung till the men were thrown out by the violence of [] motion, and then it split against the walls, [] sunk, on the engine's letting go its [] [] As for the machine which Marcellus brought forward upon eight galleys, [] which was called *sambuca*, [] account of its likeness [] the musical instrument of that name, whilst it [] [] a considerable distance from [] walls, Archimedes discharged [] [] of [] talents weight,² and after that [] second and a third, [] which striking upon it with [] amazing noise and force, shattered and totally disjointed it.

Marcellus, in this distress, drew off his galleys [] fast [] possible, and [] orders to the land forces [] retreat likewise. He then called a council of war, at which [] was resolved to [] close to the walls, if it was possible, next morning before day. For Archimedes's engines, they thought, being very strong and intended to act at a considerable distance, would then discharge themselves [] their heads; and if they were pointed at them [] they were so near, they would have no effect. But for this Archimedes had long been prepared, having by him engines fitted to all distances, with suitable weapons and shorter beams. Besides, [] had caused holes to be made in [] walls, in which he placed *scorpions*, that [] [] carry far, but could be very fast discharged; and by these the enemy [] galled, without knowing whence the weapon [] []

When, therefore, the Romans [] got close [] the walls, undiscovered [] they thought, they were welcomed with [] shower of darts, and huge pieces of rocks, which fell as it were per-

¹ What most harassed the Romans was a sort of crow with two claws, fastened to a long chain, which was let down by a kind of lever. The weight of the iron made it fall with great violence, and drove it into the planks of the galleys. Then the hoisted, by a great weight of lead at the other end of the lever, weighed it down, and consequently raised up the iron of the crow in proportion, and with it the prow of the galley to which it was fastened, sinking the poop at the same time [] the water. After this, the crow letting go its hold all on a [] [] the prow of the galley fell with such force into the sea, that the whole [] [] filled with water and sank.

² It is not easy to conceive how the machines formed by Archimedes could throw stones of 10 quintals or talents—that is, 1,250 lbs. weight—at the ships of Marcellus, when they were at a considerable distance from the walls. The account which Polybius gives us is much more probable. He says that the stones that were thrown by the *balista* made by Archimedes, were of the weight of ten lbs. Livy seems to agree with Polybius. Indeed, if we suppose that Plutarch did not mean the talent of 125 lbs., but the talent of Sicily, which some say weighed 25 lbs., and others only ten, his account comes more within the bounds of probability.

pendicularly upon their heads ; for the engines played ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ quarter of the walls. This obliged ■ ■ ■ to retire : and ■ ■ ■ they ■ ■ ■ distance, other ■ ■ ■ shot ■ ■ ■ them, ■ ■ ■ retreat, from the larger machines, which ■ ■ ■ terrible havoc ■ ■ ■ them, ■ ■ well ■ ■ greatly damaged their shipping, without ■ ■ possibility of their annoying the Syracusans in their turn. For Archimedes ■ ■ placed most of his engines under covert of the walls ; so ■ ■ ■ Romans, being infinitely distressed by ■ ■ invisible ■ ■ ■ seemed ■ ■ fight against the gods.

Marcellus, however, got off, and laughed at his own artillery-men and engineers. "Why do not we leave off contending," said he, "with this mathematical Briareus, who, sitting on the shore, and acting ■ ■ it ■ ■ ■ but in jest, has shamefully ■ ■ ■ our naval ■ ■ ■ ; and, ■ ■ striking ■ ■ with such ■ ■ multitude of bolts at once, exceeds ■ ■ the hundred-handed giants in the fable?" And, in truth, ■ ■ the ■ ■ of the Syracusans ■ ■ ■ no ■ ■ ■ than the body in the batteries of Archimedes, ■ ■ ■ himself ■ ■ the informing soul. All other weapons lay ■ ■ ■ and unemployed ; his ■ ■ ■ the only offensive and defensive arms of the city. At last the Romans were so terrified, that if they saw but a rope or a stick put over the walls, they cried ■ ■ that Archimedes was levelling ■ ■ ■ machine at them, and turned their backs and fled. Marcellus seeing this, gave up all thoughts of proceeding by assault, and leaving the ■ ■ ■ time, turned the siege into a blockade.

Yet Archimedes had such a depth of understanding, such a dignity of sentiment, and so copious a fund of mathematical knowledge, that, though in the invention of these machines he gained the reputation of ■ ■ ■ endowed ■ ■ ■ divine rather than human knowledge, yet he did not vouchsafe to leave any account of them in writing. For he considered ■ ■ attention to *mechanics*, and every ■ ■ that ministers to ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ uses, as mean and sordid, and placed his ■ ■ ■ delight in those intellectual speculations, which, without ■ ■ ■ relation to the necessities of life, have an intrinsic excellence arising from truth and demonstration only. Indeed, if mechanical knowledge is valuable for the curious frame and amazing power of those machines which it produces, the other infinitely excels ■ ■ ■ of its invincible force and conviction. And certainly it is, that abstruse and profound questions in geometry are nowhere solved by a more simple process and upon clearer principles, than in the writings of Archimedes. Some ascribe ■ ■ ■ to the acuteness of ■ ■ ■ genius, and ■ ■ ■ his indefatigable industry, by which he ■ ■ ■ things ■ ■ ■ a great ■ ■ ■ of pains ■ ■ ■ unlaboured and ■ ■ ■. In fact, ■ ■ ■ almost impossible for a man of himself ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ demonstration of his propositions, ■ ■ ■ soon as ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ from him, ■ ■ ■ will think he could have done it without assistance ; such ■ ■ ■ ready ■ ■ ■ easy way does he lead us ■ ■ ■ what ■ ■ ■ to prove. We are not, therefore, to reject ■ ■ ■ incredible, what ■ ■ ■ of him, ■ ■ ■ being perpetually ■ ■ ■ by a domestic syren, that is, his geometry, he neglected his ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ drink, and took ■ ■ ■ of his person ; that he ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ by

figures in the baths, when there would make the figures in ashes, and with his finger draw lines upon his body, when it was anointed, so much was he transported with intellectual delight, such an enthusiast in science. And though the author of many curious and excellent discoveries, yet he had never desired only to place his tombstone a cylinder containing a sphere, and the proportion which the containing solid bears to the contained. Such was Archimedes, who exerted his mind to defend himself against the Romans.

During the siege of Syracuse, Marcellus went against Megara, one of the ancient cities of Sicily, and took it. He also fell upon Hippocrates, who was entrenching himself at Acrillæ, and killed about 8,000 of his men.¹ Nay, he was the greatest part of Sicily, brought several cities from the Carthaginian interest, and all that attempted to face him in the field.

Some time after, when he returned to Syracuse, he surprised one Damippus, a Spartan, who was sailing out of the harbour; the Syracusans being very desirous to ransom him, several conferences were held about it; in one of which Marcellus took notice of a tower but slightly guarded, into which a number of men might be privately conveyed, the wall that led to it being easy to be scaled. As they often conferred the foot of this tower, he made a good estimate of its height, provided himself with proper scaling ladders, and observed that on the festival of Diana, the Syracusans drank freely and gave a loose to mirth, he not only possessed himself of the tower, undiscovered, but before daylight filled the walls of that quarter with soldiers, and forcibly entered the Hexapylum. The Syracusans, as soon as they perceived it, began to run about in great confusion; but Marcellus ordering all the trumpets to sound once, they were seized with consternation, and betook themselves to flight, believing that the whole city was lost. However, the Achradina, which was the strongest, the most extensive, and fairest part of it, was not taken, being divided by walls from the rest of the city, a part of which was called

¹ Cicero, when he was questor in Sicily, discovered the monument, showed it to the Syracusans, who knew not that it was in being. He says there were verses inscribed upon it, expressing that a cylinder and a sphere had been put upon the tomb; the proportion between which two solids Archimedes first discovered. From the death of this great mathematician, which fell in the year of Rome 562, to the questorship of Cicero, which was in the year of Rome 678, 116 years were elapsed. Though time had not quite obliterated the cylinder and the sphere, it had put an end to the learning of Syracuse, once so renowned; the public of letters.

² A part of

from Carthage, and landed 20,000 foot, 3,000 horse, and 12 elephants. His forces were no sooner set ashore, than he marched against Agrigentum, which he retook from the Romans, with several other cities lately reduced by Marcellus. Hereupon the Syracusan garrison, which was yet determined to send out Hippocrates with 2,000 foot, and 1,500 horse, to join him, after having made a vain attempt upon Agrigentum, was returning to Syracuse. As he drew near Acrillæ, he unexpectedly discovered Hippocrates busy in fortifying his camp, fell upon him, and cut 2,000 of them in pieces.

Neapolis,¹ and the other Tyche. The enterprise thus prospering, Marcellus at daybreak moved down from the Hexapylum into the city, where he was congratulated by the officers on his great success.² But it was said, that he himself, when he surveyed from an eminence that great and magnificent city, shed many tears, in pity of its impending fate, reflecting into what a scene of misery and desolation the fair appearance would be changed, when it should be sacked and plundered by the soldiers. For the troops demanded the plunder, not one of the officers durst oppose it. Many insisted that the city should be burned and levelled with the ground; but this Marcellus absolutely refused to do. It was with reluctance that he gave up the effects and the slaves; and he strictly charged the soldiers not to touch any free man or woman, not to rob or abuse, nor make a slave of any citizen whatever.

But though he acted with much moderation, the city had harder fate than he wished, and amidst the great and general joy, his soul sympathised with its sufferings, when he considered that in a few hours the prosperity of such a flourishing city would be over. It is said, that the plunder of Syracuse was richer than that of Carthage after it. For the rest of the city was betrayed to the Romans, and pillaged, only the royal treasure was preserved, and carried into the public treasury at Rome.

But what of all afflicted Marcellus was the unhappy fate of Archimedes; who was at that time in his study, engaged in some mathematical researches; and his mind, as well as his eye, was so intent upon a diagram, that he neither heard the tumultuous noise of the Romans, nor perceived that the city was taken. A soldier suddenly entered his room, and ordered him to follow him to Marcellus; and Archimedes refusing to do it, till he had finished his

¹ Neapolis was entered in the night, and in the morning. Epipolis was compassed with the same wall as Ortygia, Tyche, and Neapolis; had its own citadel called Euryalus on the top of a steep rock, and was, as we may say, a fifth city.

² The siege of Syracuse lasted in the whole three years: in small part of which Marcellus was at Tyche. He had run so slightly over the subsequent events, it may be said to give a summary of them from Livy. Epipolis, who had his headquarters in the farthest part of Ortygia, bearing that the Romans had come on Epipolis and Tyche, went to drive them from their posts: but much greater success was expected got into the town, after a slight skirmish he retired. Marcellus, unwilling to destroy the city, used gentle methods with the inhabitants, but the Syracusans rejected his proposals; and their general appointed the Roman general to guard Achradia, which he did with extreme care, being that the town was taken by

position they were in. Marcellus then turned his arms to the fortress of Euryalus, which he hoped to reduce in a short time by famine. Philodemus, who commanded there, kept him in play some time, in hope of succours from Hippocrates and Himilco; but finding himself disappointed, he surrendered the place, on condition of being allowed to march out with his men and join Epirodes. Marcellus, on entering Euryalus, directed up Achradia, where he could hold out long without new supplies of men and provisions. But Hippocrates and Himilco soon arrived; and it was resolved that Hippocrates should attack the old camp at the foot of the wall, commanded by Crispinus, while Epipolis was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him up to his entrenchments, and Epipolis was forced to return into Achradia. great numbers were narrowly escaped taken prisoner by Marcellus. The greatest distress was in the want of provisions;

clined to favour the Carthaginians ; but Nicias, [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] principal inhabitants, endeavoured to persuade them [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Romans, declaring [REDACTED] sentiments freely in their public assemblies, and proving that his opposers consulted [REDACTED] their true interests. These men, fearing his authority and [REDACTED] influence of his character, resolved [REDACTED] carry him off and put [REDACTED] in the hands of the Carthaginians. Nicias, apprised of it, took [REDACTED] for his security, without seeming to do [REDACTED]. He publicly gave out unbecoming speeches against the *Mothers*, [REDACTED] if he disbelieved and made light of the received opinion concerning the presence of those goddesses there. Meantime, his enemies rejoiced that he himself furnished [REDACTED] with sufficient [REDACTED] for the worst they could [REDACTED] him. (On the day which they had [REDACTED] for seizing him, [REDACTED] happened [REDACTED] be an assembly of the people, and Nicias [REDACTED] in [REDACTED] midst of them, treating about [REDACTED] public business. But [REDACTED] sudden [REDACTED] threw himself upon the ground, in the midst of his discourse, and, after having laid there [REDACTED] time without speaking, [REDACTED] if he had been in a [REDACTED]ce, he lifted up his head and turning it round, began to speak with [REDACTED] feeble trembling voice, which he raised by degrees : and when he [REDACTED] the whole assembly struck dumb with horror, he threw off his mantle, tore his vest in pieces, and ran half naked to [REDACTED] of the doors of the theatre, crying out that he was pursued by the *Mothers*. From a scruple of religion no one durst touch [REDACTED] stop him ; all, therefore, making way, he reached one of the city gates, though he no longer used [REDACTED] word or action, like one that was heaven-struck and distracted. His wife, who was in the secret, and assisted in the [REDACTED]agem, took her children, and went and prostrated herself [REDACTED] a suppliant before the altar of the goddesses. Then pretending that she was going to seek her husband, who [REDACTED] wandering about in the fields, she met with no opposition, but got safe out of the town ; and [REDACTED] both of them escaped to Marcellus [REDACTED] Syracuse. The people of Enguium added many other insults and misde-meanours to their past faults, Marcellus came, [REDACTED] had them loaded with irons, [REDACTED] order to punish them. But Nicias approached him with [REDACTED] in his eyes, [REDACTED] kissing his hands and embracing his knees, asked pardon for all the citizens, and for his enemies first. Hereupon Marcellus, relenting, [REDACTED] them [REDACTED] liberty, and suffered not [REDACTED] troops to commit the least disorder in the city ; at the [REDACTED] time [REDACTED] bestowed [REDACTED] Nicias [REDACTED] large tract of land, and many rich gifts. These particulars we learn from Posidonius the philosopher.

Marcellus,¹ after this, being called home to a [REDACTED] in the heart [REDACTED] Italy, carried with him the most valuable of the statues [REDACTED] paintings [REDACTED] Syracuse, [REDACTED] they might embellish his triumph, and be an ornament to Rome. For before this time, that city neither had nor knew any curiosities of this kind ; being a stranger [REDACTED] charms of taste

¹ Marcellus, before he left Sicily, gained a considerable victory over Epicydus and Hanno ; he slew great numbers, and took

[REDACTED] prisoners, besides eight [REDACTED] Liv. lib. xiv. 40.

and elegance. Full of [] from barbarous nations, [] bloody spoils, and crowned [] with trophies and other monuments [] her triumphs, she [] cheerful and pleasing spectacle, fit for men brought up [] ease and luxury, but her look [] awful and []. And [] Epaminondas calls the plains [] Boeotia *the orchestra, or stage of Mars*, and Xenophon says Ephesus [] *the arsenal of war*, [] in my opinion, (to [] the expression of Pindar,) one might then have styled Rome *the temple of frowning MARS*.

Thus Marcellus [] more acceptable to the people, because [] adorned the city with curiosities in [] Grecian taste, whose variety, [] elegance, [] very agreeable to the spectator. But the graver citizens preferred Fabius Maximus, who when he took Tarentum, brought nothing of that kind away. The money, indeed, and other rich movables [] carried off, but [] let the [] and pictures remain, using this memorable expression, *Let [] leave the Tarentines their angry deities*. They blamed the proceedings of Marcellus, in the first place, [] very invidious for Rome, because [] had led not only men, but the very gods in triumph; and their next charge was, that he had spoiled a people inured [] agriculture and war, wholly unacquainted with luxury and sloth, and, [] Euripides says of Hercules,

"In [] untaught, but skill'd where glory led to arduous enterprise."

by furnishing them with an occasion of idleness and vain discourse; for they now began to spend great part [] of the day in disputing about [] and artists. But notwithstanding such censures, this was the very thing that Marcellus valued himself upon, even to the Greeks themselves, that he was the first who taught the Romans to [] and to admire the exquisite performances of Greece, which [] hitherto unknown [] them.

Finding, at his return, that his enemies opposed his triumph, and considering that the war [] quite finished in Sicily, as well as that [] third triumph might expose him to the envy of his fellow-citizens, he so far yielded [] to content himself with leading up the greater triumph [] mount Alba, and entering Rome with [] less. The less [] called by the Greeks *evan*, and by the Romans an *ovation*. In this the general does not ride in [] triumphal chariot drawn by four horses, he [] crowned with laurel, [] has he trumpets sounding before him, but he walks in sandals, attended with the music of many flutes, and wearing a crown of myrtle; [] appearance, therefore, having nothing in it warlike, is rather pleasing than formidable. This is to me [] plain proof, that triumphs of old [] distinguished, not by the importance of the achievement, but by the [] of its performance. For those that subdued their enemies, by fighting battles and spilling much blood, entered with that war- [] and dreadful pomp of the greater triumph, and, [] is customary in the lustration of an army, wore crowns of laurel, and adorned their arms with the []. But when [] general, without fighting,

gained his point by treaty and the persuasion, law decreed him this honour, called *Ovation*, which more appear-
 a festival than of . For flute an instrument
in time of peace ; ! myrtle is the tree of Venus, who, of all
 deities, averse to violence and

Now the *ovation* is not derived (as authors think) from the word *evan*, which uttered joy, they have shouts and songs in the other triumph ; but Greeks have wrested it to a word well known in their language, believing that this procession is intended in in honour of Bacchus, whom they call *Evins* and *Thriambus*. The truth of matter this : it customary for the generals, in the greater triumphs, sacrifice ox ; and in the less sheep, in Latin ovis, whence the word *ovation*. On this occasion it is worth while observe, how different the institutions of the Spartan legislator from those of the Roman, with respect to sacrifices. In Sparta, the general put period a war by policy or persuasion, sacrificed bullock ; but whose success was owing to force of arms, offered only a cock. For though they a very warlike people, they thought it more honourable, and more worthy of a human being, to succeed by eloquence and wisdom, than by courage and force.

When Marcellus chosen consul the fourth time, the Syracu-
 at the instigation of his enemies, came to Rome accuse him, and to complain to the , that he had treated them in a cruel manner, and contrary to faith of treaties.¹ It happened that Marcellus that time the Capitol, offering sacrifice. The Syracusan deputies went immediately to the senate, who were yet sitting, and falling their knees, begged of them hear their complaints, and to do them justice : but the other consul repulsed them with indignation, because Marcellus was not there to defend himself. Marcellus, however, being informed of it, with all possible expedition, and having seated himself in his chair of state, first despatched public business as consul. When that over, he came down from his seat, and as a private person the place appointed for the accused to make their defence in, giving the Syracusans opportunity make good their charge. But they greatly confounded to the dignity and with which behaved ; and he who had been irresistible in arms, still more awful and terrible to behold in his robe of purple. Nevertheless, encouraged by his enemies, they opened accusation in a speech, mingled with lamentations, the of which was, "That, though friends and allies of Rome, they had suffered damage from Marcellus, than other generals had permitted be done to a conquered enemy." To this, Marcellus made answer, "That,

¹ The Syracusans were soon arrived at Rome, lots for provinces, Sicily fell to a to the Syracusan deputies, they not have dared to prosecute their charge, had

not Marcellus voluntarily offered to change province.

² When the their his colleague, Levidia, ordered them to withdraw : but Marcellus desired might stay hear his

notwithstanding the _____ of their criminal behaviour _____ the Romans, they had suffered nothing but what it is impossible _____ prevent, _____ a city is taken by storm ; and that Syracuse _____ was so taken, was entirely their own fault, because _____ often summoned it to surrender, and they refused _____ listen _____ him. That, in short, they _____ forced by their tyrants to commit hostilities, but they _____ had themselves _____ up tyrants for the sake of going to war."

The _____ of both sides thus heard, the Syracusans, according _____ the _____ in that case, withdrew, and Marcellus _____ out with them, leaving it _____ his colleague to collect the votes. While he stood _____ the door of the senate-house,¹ he was neither moved with the fear of the issue of the cause, nor with _____ against the Syracusans, _____ change his usual deportment, but with great mildness and decorum he waited for the event. When _____ decided, and he _____ declared to have gained it,² the Syracusans fell _____ his feet, and besought him with _____ pardon _____ only those that _____ present, but to take compassion on _____ of their citizens, who would ever acknowledge with gratitude the favour. Marcellus, moved with their entreaties, not only pardoned the deputies, but continued his protection to the other Syracusans ; and the senate, approving the privileges he had granted, confirmed to them their liberty, their laws, and the possessions that remained to them. For this reason, beside other signal honours with which they distinguished Marcellus, they made a law, that whenever he or any of his descendants entered Sicily, the Syracusans should wear garlands, and offer sacrifices to the gods.

After this, Marcellus marched against Hannibal. And though almost all the other consuls and generals, after the defeat at Cannæ, availed themselves of the single art of avoiding an _____ engagement with the Carthaginian, not one of them durst meet him fairly in the field. Marcellus took quite a different course. He _____ of opinion, that instead of Hannibal's being _____ out by length of time, the strength of Italy would be insensibly wasted by him ; and that the slow cautious maxims of Fabius _____ fit _____ cure the malady of his country ; since, by pursuing them, _____ flames of _____ could not be extinguished, until Italy was consumed ; just as timorous physicians neglect _____ apply strong, though necessary remedies, thinking _____ distemper will abate with the strength of the patient.

In _____ place, _____ recovered the best _____ of the Samnites, which _____ revolted. In them _____ found considerable magazines of corn _____ a great quantity of money, beside making 3000 of Hanni-

¹ While the cause was debating, _____ went to the capital, to take the senses of the new _____.

_____ of Syracuse, _____ on the taking of Syracuse, was not _____ approved of at Rome. Some of _____ senators _____ the attachment which king Hiero had on all occasions shown to the _____ help condemning

their general for giving up the city to be plundered by his rapacious soldiers. The Syracusans were not in a condition to make good their party against an army of mercenaries ; and therefore were obliged against their will _____ to the terms, and obey the _____ of Hannibal, who commanded _____ the army.

men, who garrisoned them, prisoners. In the place, when Cneius Fulvius the proconsul, eleven tribunes, slain, and great part of his army cut in pieces, by Hannibal in Apulia, Marcellus letters Rome, exhort citizens be of good courage, for he himself on his march to drive Hannibal of country. The reading of these letters, Livy tells us, from removing their grief, that terror to it, the Romans reckoning the present danger as much greater than past, Marcellus greater than Fulvius.

Marcellus then going quest of Hannibal, according promise, entered Lucania, and found him encamped on inaccessible heights near city of Numistro. Marcellus himself pitched his on the plain, and, the next day, was the first to draw up forces in order of battle. declined combat, but descended from the hills, and battle ensued, which decisive indeed, but great and bloody: for though the action began the third hour, it with difficulty that night put a stop it. Next morning, by break of day, Marcellus again drew up his army, and posting it among the dead bodies, challenged Hannibal to dispute it with him for the victory. Hannibal chose to draw off; and Marcellus, after he had gathered the spoils of the enemy, and buried his own dead, marched in pursuit of him. Though the Carthaginian laid many snares for him, he escaped them all; and having the advantage too in all skirmishes, his success looked upon with admiration. Therefore, when the time of the election came on, the senate thought proper to call the other consul out of Sicily, rather than draw off Marcellus, who grappling with Hannibal. When he was arrived, they ordered him declare Quintus Fulvius dictator. For Dictator is named either by people or the senate, but one of the consuls or pretors, advancing the assembly, whom he pleases. Hence some think, Dictator from *dicere*, which in Latin signifies to; but others assert, that Dictator is called, because he refers nothing plurality of voices in the the suffrages of the people, but gives his orders his pleasure. For the orders of magistrates, which the Greeks call *diatagmata*, the Romans call *edicta*, edicts.

The colleague of Marcellus was disposed to appoint another dictator, and that he might not be obliged depart from his opinion, Rome by night, and sailed back to Sicily. The people, therefore, named Quintus Fulvius dictator, and the senate wrote Marcellus to confirm the nomination, which accordingly.

Marcellus appointed proconsul for the year following; and having agreed with Fabius Maximus the consul by letters, that Fabius should besiege Tarentum, while himself watch

■ Lævius, who was the colleague of Marcellus, wanted to name M. Valerius, who left Rome abruptly, enjoined not to

name Fulvius, &c. tribunes of the people took upon them to do it, and the senate got the nomination confirmed by the consul Marcellus.

of Hannibal, and prevent his relieving place, he marched after him diligence, and came up with him Canusium. And Hannibal his camp continually, avoid coming a battle, Marcellus watched him closely, and took care keep in sight. At last, coming up with him as he was camping, harassed him skirmishes, that he drew him an engagement; but night soon came on, and parted the

N morning early, he drew his of entrenchments, and put them order of; the Hannibal, great vexation, assembled the Carthaginians, and begged of them themselves more that battle than they done. "For you see," said he, "that we can neither take breath, nor so many victories already gained, nor enjoy the least leisure we victorious now, unless the man driven off."

After this, a battle ensued, which Marcellus seems have miscarried by unseasonable movement.¹ For seeing right wing pressed, he ordered one of the legions advance front, support them. This put whole army in disorder and decided the day in favour of the enemy; 2700 Romans being slain upon the spot. Marcellus retreated into his camp, and having summoned his troops together, told them, "He saw the and bodies of Romans in abundance before him, but not Roman." On their begging pardon, he said, "He would not forgive them while vanquished, but when they to be victorious he would; and that he would lead them into the again the next day, that the news of the victory might reach Rome before that of their flight." Before he dismissed them, he gave orders that barley should be measured out instead of wheat to those companies that had turned their backs. His reprimand made such an impression them, that though many were dangerously wounded, there not a who did not feel more pain from the words of Marcellus, than he did from his wounds.

Next morning, the scarlet robe, which the ordinary signal of battle, hung out betimes; and the companies that had with dishonour before obtained leave, their request, be posted in the foremost line: after which the tribunes drew up the rest of the troops in their proper order. When this reported to Hannibal, he said, "Ye gods, what do with a man, who is not affected with either good or fortune? This only who will neither give any time to when he victorious, nor any when he is beaten. We resolve fight with him for ever; since, whether prosperous or unsuccessful, principle of honour leads him on to new attempts and farther exertions of courage."

¹ The movement was not unseasonable, but it executed. Livy says, the right wing gave way faster than they needed to have done, and the eighteenth legion, which was to advance from to front slowly; this occasioned the disorder.

² This was a common punishment. But which, he ordered that the companies should continue in day with their swords drawn and without their shields. Liv. xxvii. 12.

Both armies then engaged, Hannibal seeing advantage gained by either, ordered his elephants to be brought forward into line, and to be pushed against the Romans. The caused great confusion at first the Roman front; but, Flavius, a tribune, snatching an ensign staff from one of the companies, advanced, with the point of it wounded the foremost elephant. upon this turned back upon the second, the second upon next that followed, and so till they all put in great disorder. Marcellus observing this, ordered his horse to fall furiously upon enemy, and taking advantage of the confusion already made, rout them entirely. Accordingly, they charged with extraordinary vigour, and drove the Carthaginians from their entrenchments. The slaughter dreadful; and the fall of the killed, the plunging of the wounded elephants, contributed greatly to it. It is said that more than Carthaginians in this battle; of the Romans not above 3000 slain, but almost the wounded. This gave Hannibal opportunity to de-camp silently the night, and remove a great distance from Marcellus, who, by reason of the number of his wounded, was unable to pursue him, but retired, by easy marches, into Campania, and passed the summer in the city of Sinuessa¹ to recover and re- his soldiers.

Hannibal, thus disengaged from Marcellus, made use of his troops, now at liberty, and securely overran the country, burning and destroying all before him. This gave occasion to unfavourable reports of Marcellus at Rome; and his enemies incited Publius Bibulus, one of the tribunes of the people, a man of violent temper, and a vehement speaker, in form. Accordingly Bibulus often assembled the people, and endeavoured to persuade them to take the command from him, and give it to another; "Since Marcellus," said he, "has only exchanged a few thrusts with Hannibal, and then left the stage, and is gone to the hot baths to refresh him-

When Marcellus apprised of these practices against him, left his army in charge with his lieutenants, and went to Rome to make his defence. On his arrival, he found an impeachment framed of those calumnies.—And the day fixed for it being come, and the people assembled in the Flaminian Circus, Bibulus censured the tribune's and set forth his charge. Marcellus's plain and short: but many persons of distinction among the citizens exerted themselves greatly, and spoke with much freedom, exhorting the people not to judge of Marcellus than enemy himself had done, by fixing a mark of cowardice upon only general whom shunned, and used much

¹ Livy says in Vesuvius, which being nearer Cannidium was more convenient for the wounded men to retire to.

² There were hot baths near Sinuessa, but none near Venusia. Therefore, if

Marcellus went to the latter place, the calumnious stroke was not applicable. Accordingly Livy does not apply it; he only makes Bibulus say, that Marcellus passed the summer in quarters.

art ■■■ avoid fighting with, as he ■■■ combat with others. These remonstrances ■■■ such ■■■, that the ■■■ was totally disappointed in his expectations; for *Marcellus was not only acquitted of ■■■ charge, but a fifth time chosen* ■■■.

As soon ■■■ had entered upon his office, he visited the cities of Tuscany, ■■■ by ■■■ personal influence allayed a dangerous ■■■ motion, ■■■ revolt. At his return, ■■■ was desirous to dedicate to Honour and Virtue ■■■ temple which ■■■ had built out of the Sicilian spoils, but was opposed by the priests, who ■■■ would not ■■■ deities should be contained in one temple.¹ Taking this opposition ill, and considering it ■■■ ominous, ■■■ another ■■■ ple.

There ■■■ many other prodigies that gave him uneasiness. *Some temples were struck with lightning; ■■■ of Jupiter rats gnawed the gold; ■■■ reported that ■■■ spoke, and that there ■■■ a child living which was born ■■■ elephant's head:* and when the expiation of these prodiges was attempted, there were no tokens of success. The *Augurs*, therefore, kept him in Rome, notwithstanding his impatience and eagerness ■■■ be gone. For never ■■■ passionately desirous of anything as he ■■■ of fighting a decisive battle with Hannibal. It ■■■ his dream by night, the subject of conversation ■■■ day with ■■■ friends and colleagues, and his sole request ■■■ gods, that he might meet Hannibal fairly in the field. Nay, I verily believe, he would have ■■■ glad ■■■ have had both armies surrounded with ■■■ wall or ■■■ trenchment, and to have fought in that enclosure. Indeed, had he not already attained ■■■ such a height of glory, had he not given so many proofs of his equalling the best generals in prudence and discretion, I should think he gave way to ■■■ sanguine and extravagant ambition, unsuitable ■■■ his years; for he ■■■ above sixty when ■■■ entered upon his ■■■ consulate.

At last, the expiatory sacrifices being such ■■■ the soothsayers approved, he ■■■ out with his colleague, to prosecute the war, and fixed his ■■■ between Bantia and Venusia. There he tried every method ■■■ provoke Hannibal to a battle which he constantly declined. But the Carthaginian perceiving that the consul had ordered some troops to go ■■■ lay siege to the city of the *Episephirians*, or western Locrians,² ■■■ laid an ambuscade on their way, under the hill of Petelia, and ■■■ them. This added stings ■■■ Marcellus's desire of an engagement, and made him draw ■■■ to ■■■ enemy.

Between ■■■ armies ■■■ a hill, which ■■■ a pretty strong

¹ They said, if the temple should be struck with lightning, or any other prodigy should happen to it, that wanted expiation, they should not know, which ■■■ deities they ought to offer the expiatory sacrifice. Marcellus, therefore, to satisfy the priest, began another temple, and ■■■ work was carried on with great diligence; but he did

not live to dedicate it. His son was created both the temples about four years after.

² This was not a ■■■ sent them the ■■■ of the consul, whom they ■■■ not choose to ■■■ when in the sight of such an enemy as Hannibal. It consisted of troops drawn from Sicily, and from the garrisons of ■■■

Hannibal made but little use of the rest, but when he knew Marcellus was killed, he hastened to the place, and stand ng over the body a long time, surveyed its size and mien : without speaking one insulting word, or showing the least sign of joy, which might have been expected at the fall of a dangerous and formidable an enemy. He stood, indeed, awhile astonished at the strange death of a great man ; and at last taking his signet from his finger,¹ he caused his body to be magnificently attired and burned, and the ashes be put in a silver urn, and then placed a pound of gold upon it, and gave it to his son. But certain Numidians, seeing those that carried the urn, attempted to take it from them, and the others stood upon their guard to defend it, the ashes scattered in the struggle. When Hannibal was informed of it, he said to those who were about him, *You see it is impossible to do anything against the will of God.* He punished the Numidians, indeed, but took no farther care about collecting and sending the remains of Marcellus, believing that some deity had ordained that Marcellus should die in a strange a manner, and that his ashes should be denied burial. This account of the matter we have from Cornelius Nepos, and Valerius Maximus ; but Livy² and Augustus Cæsar affirm, that the urn was carried to his son, and that his remains were interred with great magnificence.

Marcellus's public donations, besides those he dedicated at Rome, were a *Gymnasium*, which he built at Catana in Sicily ; and several statues and paintings, brought from Syracuse, which he set up in the temple of the *Cabiri* in Samothrace, and in that of Minerva at Lindus. In the latter of these, the following verses, as Posidonius tells us, were inscribed on the pedestal of his statue :

" The light of Rome, Marcellus here behold,
For birth, for deeds of great, by fate enroll'd.
His name shall grace the martial plain,
And by his thundering arm were thousands slain."

The author of this inscription adds to his five consulates the dignity of proconsul, with which he was twice honoured. His posterity continued in great splendour down to Marcellus, the son of Caius Marcellus and Octavia the sister of Augustus.³ He died very young, in the office of *ædile*, soon after he had married Julia, the emperor's

¹ Hannibal imagined he should have some opportunity or other of making use of this seal to his advantage. But this plan despatched messengers to all the neighbouring cities, in the name of Rome, acquainting them that Marcellus was killed, and Hannibal was of his ring. This precaution preserved Salapia in Apulia. Nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the Carthaginians to their own use. For admitting, upon a solemn sealed with that ring, 500 of the Roman men, most of them Roman deserters, into the town, they on a sudden pulled up the

draw-bridges, cut in pieces those who had entered, and, with a shower of darts from the ramparts, drove back the army. Liv. xlviii. c. 20.

² Livy lxxviii. Hannibal buried the body of Marcellus on a hill where he was slain.

³ His family continued after him 125 years : for he was slain in the first year of Olympiad 143, in the 545th year of Rome, and 400. 300 ; and young Marcellus died in the second year of Olympiad 168, and 525th of Rome.

daughter. To do honour ■■■ memory, Octavia dedicated ■■■ him
a library;¹ ■■■ Augustus ■ theatre, ■■■ both these public works bore
his ■■■■

TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.

THOSE who ■■■ desirous of being acquainted with the ■■■■
and figure of Titus Quinctius Flaminius,² need but look upon the
■■■■ in brass, which is erected at Rome with a Greek inscription
upon it, opposite the *Circus Maximus*, ■■■■ the g■■■ statue of
Apollo, which ■■■ brought ■■■ Carthage. As ■■■ his disposition,
■■■■ quick ■■■■ ■■■■ an injury, and to do a service. But
his resentment ■■■■ in ■■■ respects like his affection, for he
punished lightly, and ■■■ forgot the offence; but his attachments
and services ■■■■ lasting and complete. For the persons whom
he had obliged he ■■■■ retained a kind regard; as if, instead of
receiving, they had conferred a favour; and considering them as
his greatest treasure, he was always ready ■■■ protect and ■■■ pro-
■■■■ them. Naturally covetous of honour and fame, and ■■■
choosing ■■■■ others have any share in his great and good
actions, he took ■■■■ pleasure in those whom he could assist, than
■■■ those who could give ■■■ assistance; looking upon the former
as persons who afforded room for the exertion of virtue, and the
latter ■■■ his rivals in glory.

From his youth he ■■■■ trained up to the profession of arms.
For Rome having then many important ■■■■ upon her hands, her
youth betook themselves by times to arms, ■■■■ had early opportuni-
ties ■■■ qualify themselves to command. Flaminius ■■■■ like the
rest, and ■■■■ first a legionary tribune, under ■■■ consul Marcellus,³
in the ■■■■ with Hannibal. Marcellus ■■■■ into ■■■ ambuscade and
was slain, after which Flaminius ■■■■ appointed governor of
Tarentum, newly retaken, and of the country about it. In this
commission he grew ■■■ less famous for his administration of justice
than for his military skill, for which reason ■■■■ appointed

¹ According to ■■■■ Dion, it
was ■■■■ Augustus ■■■■
■■■■ library.

² It ■■■■ ■■■■ *Flaminius*,
not *Flaminus*. Polybius, Livy, and all
the other historians write ■■■ *Flaminianus*.
Indeed, the Flamini were a very different
family from the Flaminii. The former
were patricians, ■■■■ latter plebeians.
Caius Flaminius, who was killed in the
battles at the lake of Trasymenus, was of
the plebeian family. Besides some manu-
scripts, for instance the Vulgate, an Anon.,
and one that Decker consults, have it

Flaminius; ■■■■ ■■■■ be ■■■■
authority to correct ■■■■ ■■■■ would
■■■■ ■■■■ inconvenience. ■■■■
Plutarch has copied this *Flaminianus* in
other places as well as here in his life;
and, indeed, several modern writers have
done the same.

³ He was appointed a tribune at t's
■■■ of twenty, in the fourth year of the
■■■■ Olympiad. Consequently, he was
born in the first year of the 18th Olympiad,
which was the year of ■■■■ 530. Livy
tells us, that he was 33 years of age, when
he proclaimed liberty to Greece.

This inspired him with such lofty thoughts, that, overlooking the ordinary previous steps by which young [] ascend, I mean the offices of tribune, praetor, and aedile, [] aimed directly [] the consulship. Supported by those colonisers, he presented himself as a candidate. [] the tribunes Fulvius and Manlius opposed him, insisting [] [] a strange and unheard-of thing, [] a man [] young, who [] yet initiated in the first mysteries of government, to intrude, in contempt of the laws, into the highest office of the []. The [] referred the affair [] the suffrages of the people; and [] people elected [] consul, though he [] not yet thirty years old, with Sextus Aelius. The lots being [] for the provinces, [] with Philip and the Macedonians fell [] Flaminius; and this happened very fortunately for the Roman people; as that department required [] general who did [] [] do every thing by force and violence, but rather by gentleness and persuasion. For Macedonia furnished Philip with [] sufficient number of [] for his wars, but Greece [] his principal dependence [] for [] of any length. [] it was that supplied him with money and provisions, with strongholds and places of retreat, and, in [] word, with all the materials of war. So that if she could not be disengaged from Philip, the war with him could not be decided by a single battle. Besides, the Greeks as yet had but little acquaintance with the Romans: it was [] first to be established by the intercourse of business: and, therefore, they would [] soon have embraced a foreign authority, instead of that they had been [] long accustomed to, [] the Roman general had not been a man of great good nature, who was more ready to avail himself of treaty than of the sword, who had a persuasive [] where he applied, and was affable and easy of access when applied to, and [] had [] constant and invariable regard [] justice. But this will better appear from his actions themselves.

Titus finding that Sulpitius and Publius,¹ his predecessors in command, had not entered Macedonia till late in the season, and then did █ prosecute the war with vigour, but spent their time in skirmishing to gain █ particular post █ pass, █ intercept some provisions, determined not to act like them. They had wasted the year of their consulate in the enjoyment of their █ honours, and █ the administration of domestic affairs, and towards the close of the year they repaired to their province; by which artifice they got their █ continued another year, being the first year in character of consul, and the second of proconsul. But Titus, █ ambitious █ distinguish his consulship by █ important expedition, left the honours and prerogatives he had in Rome; and having requested the senate █ permit █ brother Lucius █ command the naval forces, and selected three thousand men, as yet in █ vigour

patron was Consul [redacted] year after Sulp. time,
[redacted] next before Flaminius.

and spirits, ████████ glory of ████████ field from those troops, who, under Scipio, had subdued Hasdrubal ████████ Spain. and Hannibal in Africa. he crossed ████████ sea, and got safe into Ipirus. There he found Publius encamped ████████ against Philip, who ████████ been ████████ long time defending the fords of the river Apsus and the adjoining straits. and ████████ Publius ████████ not been able to effect anything, by reason of the natural strength of the place.

Titus having taken the command of the army and Publius home, himself to consider the nature of the country. Its natural fortifications are equal to those of Tempe, but it is Tempe in beauty of the woods and groves, and the verdure of valleys, delicious meads. To the right and left there a chain of lofty mountains, between which there is a deep and long channel. Down this the river Apsus, the Pencus, both appearance and rapidity. It of the hills each side, that there is left only a craggy path, cut out close by the stream, which easy for an army pass any time, and, when guarded, passable at all.

There **■** some, therefore, who advised Flaminius to take **■** compass through Dassaretis along the Lycus, which was **■** easy **■**. But **■** was afraid that if he removed too far from the sea into a country that was barren and little cultivated, while Philip avoided **■** battle he might come to want provisions, and be constrained, like the general before him, to retreat to the sea, without effecting anything. This determined him **■** **■** his way up by the mountains sword in hand, and to force a passage. But Philip's army being possessed of the heights, showered down their darts and arrows upon the Romans from every quarter. Several sharp **■** ensued, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides, but **■** that **■** likely to **■** decisive.

In meantime, shepherds of those mountains to the consul with a discovery of a winding way, neglected by the enemy, by which they promised to bring his army to the top in three days at the farthest. And to confirm the truth of what they said, they brought Charops the of Machatus, prince of the Epirots; who was a friend Romans, and privately assisted them of fear of Philip. As Flaminius could confide in him, he away a tribune with 4000 foot and 300 horse. The shepherds in bonds the way. In the daytime they lay still in the hollows of the woods, and in the night they marched; for moon was then full. Flaminius having detached this party, let main body the three days, and only had slight the enemy to take up their attention. But the day that expected those who had taken circuit to appear upon the heights, drew out his forces early, heavy and light-armed, and dividing them into three parts, himself led the van; marching men along the path by the side of the river. The Macedonians galled him with darts; but maintained the combat notwithstanding the disadvantage of ground.

parties fought with all the spirit of emulation, ■■ ■■ ■■
 rocks with astonishing ardour

In the ■■■■■ the ■■ ■■ ■■ smoke appeared ■■ a distance, not very strong, but like ■■ ■■ of the hills ■■■■ the ■■■■ of the enemy, they did not observe it, ■■ ■■ ■■ from the troops who had reached the top. Amidst the fatigue ■■ the engagement, the Romans ■■■■ in doubt whether ■■ ■■ ■■ signal ■■ not, but they inclined ■■ believe ■■ the thing they wished. And when they ■■ it increase, ■■ as ■■ darken the air, and ■■ mount higher and higher, they were well assured ■■ it came from ■■ fires which their friends had lighted. Hereupon they set up loud shouts, and charging the enemy with greater vigour, pushed them ■■ ■■ ■■ craggy places. The shouts ■■■■ ■■ echoed by those behind ■■ the top of the mountain. And ■■■■ the Macedonians fled with the ■■■■ precipitation. Yet there ■■■■ ■■ above ■■■■ slain, the place ■■ being impeded by the difficulty of the ■■■■. The Romans, however, pillaged ■■ camp, ■■■■ ■■ money and slaves, and became absolute ■■■■ of the pass.

They then traversed all Epirus, but with such order and discipline, that though they were at a great distance from their ships and the sea, and had ■■ the usual monthly allowance of corn, or convenience of markets, yet they spared the country which at the same ■■ ■■ ■■ everything. For Flaminius was informed that Philip, in his passage or rather flight through Thessaly, had compelled ■■ people ■■ quit their habitations, and retire to the mountains, had burned the towns, and had given as plunder to his men what was ■■ heavy or cumbersome to be carried off, and so had in ■■ manner yielded up the country to the ■■■■. The Consul, therefore, made a point of ■■ to prevail with his men to spute it as their own, to march through it ■■ land already ceded to them.

The event soon showed the benefit of this good order. For ■■ soon as they entered Thessaly, ■■ its ■■■■ declared for them, and the Greeks within Thermopylae longed for the protection ■■ Flaminius, and ■■■■ up their hearts to him. The Achaeans ■■ nounced their alliance with Philip, and by a solemn decree resolved ■■ take part with ■■ Romans against him. And though the Aetolians, who ■■ that ■■■■ strongly attached to the Romans, made the Opuntians ■■ offer to garrison and defend their city, they refused it and having ■■ for Flaminius, put themselves in his hands.

It ■■ reported of Pyrrhus, when from ■■ ■■■■ ■■ had first ■■ prospect of the disposition of the Roman ■■■■, that ■■ said, "I ■■ nothing barbarian like in the ranks of these barbarians." Indeed, all who once ■■ Flaminius, spoke of him in the ■■■■ ■■■■. They had heard the Macedonians represent him as the fierce commander of a ■■■■ of barbarians, who was ■■■■ to ■■■■ and destroy and ■■ reduce all to slavery, and when afterwards they ■■■■ ■■ young ■■ of a mild aspect, who spoke very good Greek, and ■■ a lover ■■ honour, they were extremely taken with him, and excited the kind regards of their cities ■■ him, as to ■■ general who would ■■■■ them ■■ liberty.

After this, Philip seeming inclined to treat, Flaminius ■ to an interview ■ him, and offered ■ peace and friendship with Rome, ■ condition that he left the Grecians free, and withdrew his garrisons from their cities. And ■ he refused those terms, it ■ obvious, even ■ the partisans of Philip, that the Romans ■ come to fight against the Greeks, but for Greece against the Macedonians.

The rest of Greece acceding voluntarily ■ the confederacy, the Consul entered Boeotia, but in a peaceable manner, and the chief of the Thebans ■ him. They ■ inclined ■ the Macedonian interest ■ account of Barchyllas, but they honoured and respected Flaminius, and were willing ■ preserve the friendship of both. Flaminius received them with great goodness, embraced them, and went ■ slowly with them, asking various questions, and entertaining them with discourse, on purpose ■ give his soldiers time to ■ up. Thus advancing insensibly ■ the gates of Thebes, he entered the city with them. They did ■ indeed quite relish the thing, but they were afraid to forbid him, as he ■ well attended. Then as if he had been in no ways master of the town, he endeavoured by persuasion to bring it ■ declare for the Romans; king Attalus seconding him, and using all his rhetoric to the Thebans. But that prince, it seems, in his eagerness to serve Flaminius, exerting himself more than his age could bear, was seized, ■ he was speaking, with a giddiness or rheum, which made him swoon away. A few days after his fleet conveyed him into Asia, and he died there. As for the Boeotians they took part with the Romans.

As Philip sent an embassy to Rome, Flaminius also sent his agents to procure ■ decree of the senate prolonging his commission if the war continued, or else empowering him to make peace. For his ambition made him apprehensive, that if a successor ■ sent, he should be robbed of all the honour of the war. His friends managed matters ■ well for him, that Philip failed in his application, and the command ■ continued to Flaminius. Having received the decree, he ■ greatly elevated in his hopes, and marched immediately into Thessaly to carry on the war against Philip. His army consisted of ■ than 26,000 men, of whom the Ætolians furnished 6000 foot, and 300 horse. Philip's forces ■ not inferior in number. They marched against each other, and arrived ■ Scotusa, where they proposed ■ decide the affair with the sword. The vicinity of two such armies had ■ the usual effect, to strike the officers with a mutual awe, ■ the contrary, ■ increased their courage and ardour, the Romans being ambitious to ■ the Macedonians, whose valour and power Alexander had rendered ■ famous, and the Macedonians hoping, if they could beat the Romans, whom they looked upon ■ a more respectable enemy than the Persians, ■ raise the glory of Philip above that of Alexander. Flaminius, therefore, exhorted his men to behave with the greatest courage and gallantry, as they had to contend with brave adversaries in ■ glorious ■ theatre ■ Greece. On ■ other side, Philip, in order ■

Ætolians ascribed the victory to themselves,¹ and endeavoured to prepossess the Greeks that the fact was really so. This report got such ground, that the poets and others, in the epigrams that were composed and sung on this occasion, put them in the place of the Romans, the most in vogue of the following :—

Stranger ! weepst, unhonour'd with a grave,
See thrice ten thousand bodies of the brave !
The three Ætolians, and the Latian power
Led by Flaminius, ruled the vengeful power :
Kynthia's scornage, beneath whose siroko they bled,
And swifter than the roe the mighty Philip led.

Alcæus wrote this epigram in ridicule of Philip, and purposely misrepresented the number of the slain. The epigram was indeed in everybody's mouth, but Flaminius was much more hurt by it than Philip : for the latter parodied Alcæus, as follows :—

Stranger ! weepst, unhonour'd e'en with bark,
See this little tree, the gibbet of Alcæus !

Flaminius, who was ambitious of the praise of Greece, was not a little provoked at this, and therefore managed everything afterwards by himself, paying very little regard to the Ætolians. They in their turn indulged their resentment : and, when Flaminius had admitted proposals for an accommodation, and received an embassy for that purpose from Philip, the Ætolians exclaimed in the cities of Greece that he sold the peace to the Macedonian, at a time when he might have put a final period to the war, and have destroyed that empire which first enslaved the Grecians. These speeches, though groundless, greatly perplexed the allies ; but Philip coming in person to treat, and submitting himself and his kingdom to the discretion of Flaminius and the Romans, removed all suspicion.

Thus Flaminius put an end to the war. He restored Philip his kingdom, but obliged him to quit his claim on Greece ; he fined him 1000 talents ; took away all his ships excepting ten ; and sent Demetrius, one of his sons, hostage to Rome. In this pacification, he made a happy use of the present, and wisely provided for the time to come. For Hannibal the Carthaginian, an inveterate enemy to the Romans, and now an exile, being at the court of Antiochus,² exhorted him to improve his fortune, who opened her eyes to him ; and Antiochus himself seeing his power very considerable, and that his exploits had already gained him the title of the Great, began to think of universal monarchy, and particularly of setting himself against the Romans. He was not Flaminius, therefore, whose great wisdom foreseen this, and made peace with Antiochus might have

¹ Polybius informs us, that the Macedonians were the first to propose the advantage, and beat the Romans from the tops of the mountains they had gained. And he affirms, that all probability the Romans would have been put to flight, had they not been supported by the Ætolian cavalry.

² This is a mistake. Hannibal did not come to the court of Antiochus till the year 190, when he was already

liberty to Greece at the Isthmian games ; and Valerius Flaccus, who were then envoys having sent an embassy to Antiochus to compel him to peace.

³ Polybius tells us, Flaminius was induced to conclude a peace upon this fatal ignorance he had received, that Antiochus was marching towards Greece, with a powerful army ; and he was at last Philip might lay hold on the advantage to continue the war.

joined Philip in the ■■■ with Greece, ■■■ those two kings, then the ■■■ powerful in the world, have made a common ■■■ of it ; which would have called Rome again ■ as great conflicts and dangers as she ■ experienced in the ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ But Flaminius, by thus putting an intermediate space of peace between the two wars, and finishing the one before the other began, ■■■ ■■■ the last hope of Philip, and the first of Antiochus.

The ■■ commissioners now sent by the senate to assist Flaminius advised him ■■■ the rest of Greece free, but to keep garrisons in the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, to secure them, in case of ■■■ with Antiochus. But the Ætolians, always ■■■ in their accusations, and ■■■ more so than ever, endeavoured to excite a spirit of insurrection in the cities, calling upon Flaminius ■ knock off the shackles of Greece ; for ■ Philip used ■■■ those cities. They asked the Greeks, "if they ■■■ find their chain very comfortable, now ■■■ polished, though heavier than before ; and if they did not consider Flaminius as the greatest ■ benefactor, for unfettering their feet, and binding them by the neck." Flaminius, afflicted at these clamours, begged of the council of deputies and at last prevailed with them, to deliver those cities from the garrisons, in order that his favour to the Grecians might be perfect and entire.

They were then celebrating the Isthmian games, and ■■ innumerable company was seated to see the exercises. For Greece ■■■ enjoying full peace after a length of wars ; and, big with the expectations of liberty, had given in to these festivities ■■ that occasion. Silence being commanded by sound of trumpet, a herald went forth and made proclamation, "That the Roman senate, and Titus Quinctius Flaminius, the general and proconsul, having vanquished king Philip and the Macedonians, took off all impositions, and withdrew all garrisons from Greece, and restored liberty, and their own laws and privileges, to the Corinthians, Locrians, Phocians, Eubœans, Achæans, Phthians, Magnesians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians."

At first the proclamation ■■■ generally ■■ distinctly heard, but a confused murmur ■■■ through the theatre ; ■■■ wondering, ■■■ questioning, and others calling upon the herald ■ repeat what he had said. Silence being again commanded, the herald raised his voice, so as to be heard distinctly by the whole assembly. The ■■■ which they gave, in the transport of joy, was ■■ prodigious, that it ■■■ heard ■■ far ■■ the sea. The people ■■■ their seats ; there was no further regard paid to the diversions ; all hastened to embrace and address the preserver and protector of Greece. The hyperbolical accounts that have ■■■ been given of the effect of ■■■ shouts, ■■■ verified on that occasion. For the crows, which ■■■ happened ■■ be flying over ■■■ heads, ■■■ into the theatre. The breaking of the air seems to have been the cause. For the sound of many united voices being violently strong, the parts of the air ■■■ separated by it, and a void is left, which affords the ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ Or perhaps the ■■■ of the sound strikes the

birds like an arrow, and kills them in an instant. Or possibly a circular motion is caused in the air, as a whirlpool is produced by the agitations of a storm.

If Flaminius, soon he saw the assembly risen, and the crowd rushing towards him, had not avoided them, and got under covert, he have been surrounded, and, in all probability, suffocated by such a multitude. When they had almost spent themselves in acclamations about his pavilion, and night came, they retired; and whatever friends fellow-citizens they happened see, they embraced and caressed again, and then and concluded the evening together in feasting and merriment. There, doubt, redoubling their joy, they began to recollect and of the of Greece: they observed, "That notwithstanding the many great wars she been engaged in for liberty, she had gained or agreeable enjoyment of it, now when others fought for her; that glorious and important prize now hardly costing them a drop of blood, or a tear. That, of human excellencies, valour and prudence but rarely met with, but that justice still uncommon. That such generals as Agesilaus, Lysander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, knew how to manage a war, and to gain victories both by sea and land; but they knew not how to apply their success to generous and noble purposes. So that if one excepted the battles of Marathon, of Salamis, Plataea, and Thermopylae, and the actions of Cimon upon the Eurymedon, and near Cyprus, Greece had fought to no other purpose than to bring the yoke upon herself, all the trophies she erected were mementos of her dishonour, and at last her affairs were ruined by the unjust ambition of her chiefs. But these strangers, who had scarce a spark of anything Grecian left, who scarce retained a faint tradition of their ancient descent from us, from whom the least inclination, word in our behalf, could have been expected; these strangers have run the greatest risks, and submitted the greatest labours, to deliver Greece from her cruel and tyrannic masters, and to her with liberty again."

These the reflections the Grecians made, and actions of Flaminius justified them, being quite agreeable his proclamation. For he immediately despatched Lentulus into Asia, to the Bargyllians free, and into Thrace, draw Philip's garrisons out of the towns and adjacent islands. Publius Villius in order with Antiochus about the freedom of the Grecians under him. And Flaminius himself Chalcis, and sailed from thence to Magnesia, where he removed the garrisons, and put the government again in hands of the people.

At Argos, being appointed director of the Nemean he the whole order of them in the most agreeable manner, and on that occasion caused liberty to proclaimed again by the crier.

* According to *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, Rome was captured by the first, chiefly from those Grecian

calendes had seen the south of Italy about the time of Hannibal.

* Polybius and Livy call him Lucius Stacidius.

And ■■■ passed through ■■■ other cities, he strongly recommended ■■■ them an adherence ■■■ law, ■■■ strict course of justice, and domestic ■■■ unanimity. He ■■■ their divisions ; he restored their exiles. In short, he took not more pleasure ■■■ the conquest of the Macedonians, than in reconciling the ■■■ ■■■ each other ; and ■■■ liberty ■■■ appeared the least of the benefits he had conferred upon them.

It ■■■ that when Lycurgus, the orator, had delivered Xenocrates the philosopher ■■■ of the hands of the tax-gatherers who ■■■ hurrying him to prison for the ■■■ paid by strangers, and had prosecuted them for their insolence ; Xenocrates, afterwards meeting the children of Lycurgus, said ■■■ them, "Children, I ■■■ made ■■■ noble return ■■■ your father for the service he did me ; for all the world praise him for it." But the returns which attended ■■■ ■■■ the Romans, for their beneficence ■■■ the Greeks, terminated not in praises only, but justly procured them the confidence of all mankind, and added greatly to their power. For now a variety of people not only accepted the governors set ■■■ them by Rome, but ■■■ sent for them and begged to be under their government. ■■■ not only cities and commonwealths, but kings, when injured by other kings, had ■■■ to their protection. So that the divine assistance ■■■ perhaps co-operating, in a short time the whole world became subject ■■■ them. Flaminius also valued himself most upon the liberty he had bestowed on Greece. For having dedicated some silver bucklers, together with his own shield, at Delphi, he put upon them the following inscription :—

Ye Spartan twins, who tame the foaming steed,
Ye friends, ye patrons of each glorious deed,
Behold Flaminius of *Athenæ* line,
Parents thus offering at your awful shrine.
Ye sons of love, your generous paths he trod,
And snatch'd from Greece each little *Grahi*'s rod.

He offered also to Apollo ■■■ golden crown, with these ■■■ inscribed ■■■ it :—

See *græ* ■■■ *Ætius* hominæ way to thee, the glorious god of day ;
See him ■■■ gold thy *beast* down, thy looks which shed th' ambrosial *sear*;
O grant him fame and every gift divine, who led the warriors of *Athenæ* line.

The Grecians have had the noble gift of liberty twice conferred upon them in the city of Corinth ; by Flaminius then, and by Nero in our times. It ■■■ granted both times during the celebration of the Isthmian games. Flaminius had it proclaimed ■■■ by ■■■ herald ; but Nero himself declared the Grecians free and ■■■ liberty ■■■ be governed by their ■■■ laws, in an oration which ■■■ made from ■■■ ■■■ in the public assembly. This happened 363 years after.

Flaminius next undertook ■■■ very just and honourable ■■■ against Nabis, the wicked and abandoned tyrant of Lacedæmon ; ■■■ in ■■■ ■■■ he disappointed the hopes of Greece. For, though ■■■ might have taken him prisoner, he would not ; but struck ■■■ a league with him and left Sparta unworthily in bondage ; whether it ■■■ that he feared, if the ■■■ was drawn out to any length, a ■■■ ■■■ would be ■■■ him from Rome, who would rob him of ■■■ glory of it ; or whether in his passion for fame he ■■■ jealous of the

reputation of Philopœmen : ■ man who ■ all occasions had distinguished himself among the Greeks, and in that war particularly had given wonderful proofs both of courage and conduct ; inasmuch that the Achæans gloried in him as much as in Flaminius, and paid him the ■ respect in their theatres. This greatly hurt Flaminius ; he could not bear that an Arcadian, who had only ■ manded in some inconsiderable wars upon the confines of his ■ country, should be held in equal admiration with ■ Roman consul, who had fought for all Greece. Flaminius, however, did not ■ apologies for his conduct ; for he said, "He put an end ■ the war, because he ■ he could not destroy the tyrant without involving all the Spartans in the meantime in great calamities."

The Achæans decreed Flaminius many honours, but ■ seemed equal to his services, unless it were ■ present, which pleased him above all the rest. It was this : The Romans who had the misfortune to be taken prisoners in the war with Hannibal, ■ sold for slaves, and dispersed in various places. Twelve hundred of them ■ in Greece. That sad reverse of fortune made them always unhappy, but now (as might be expected) they were still more so, when they met their sons, their brothers, ■ their acquaintance, and saw them free while they ■ slaves, and conquerors while they were captives. Flaminius did not pretend to take them from their masters, though his heart sympathised with their distress. But the Achæans redeemed them at the rate of five minæ a man, and having collected them together, made Flaminius a present of them, just as he was going on board ; so that he ■ sail with great satisfaction, having found a glorious recompense for his glorious services, a return suitable to ■ man of such humane sentiments and such a lover of his country. This indeed made the most illustrious part of his triumph. For these poor men got their heads shaved, and ■ the cap of liberty, ■ the custom of slaves is upon their manumission, and in this habit they followed the chariot of Flaminius. But ■ add to the splendour of the show, there ■ the Grecian helmets, the Macedonian targets and spears, and the other spoils carried in great pomp before him. And the quantity of money was not small : for, ■ Itanus relates it, there ■ carried in this triumph 3713 pounds of unwrought gold, 43,270 of silver, 14,514 pieces of coined gold called Philippics ; besides which, Philip owed 1000 talents. But the Romans ■ afterwards prevailed upon, chiefly by the mediation of Flaminius, to remit this debt ; Philip was declared their ally, and his son, who had been with them ■ a hostage, sent home.

1 ■ upon ■ ;
at ■ he mentions others
to ■ honour of ■ great man
Winter was now coming on, and the slave
Sparta might have lasted a considerable
time. The enemy's country was so
hausted, ■ could ■ supply
provisions and it was difficult
get convoys ■ any other quarter.
Besides, Vallius was ■ from the

of Antiochus, ■ brought advice
that the perils with which prince was not to
be despised. ■ ■
retly entered Europe with a fleet
army more numerous than ■ And
what forces had they to oppose him, ■
case of a rupture, if Flaminius, ■
to empty life in the siege of Sparta ? Liv,
xxxv 34, 34.

After this, Antiochus passed over into Greece with a great and a powerful army, and solicited the [] to join him. The Ætolians, who had been a long time affected the Romans, took his part, and suggested [] pretence for the war, that he [] bring the Grecians liberty. The Grecians had [] of it, for they were free already ; but, [] he had [] better cause [] assign, they instructed him [] his attempt with that splendid pretext.

The Romans, fearing, on this account, a revolt in Greece, as well as the strength of Antiochus, sent the Consul Manius Acilius to command in the war, but appointed Flaminius his lieutenant,¹ [] the sake of his influence in Greece. His appearance there immediately confirmed such [] yet friends, [] their fidelity, and prevented those who [] wavering from an entire defection. This was effected by [] respect they bore him ; for it operated like a potent remedy [] the beginning of a disease. There [] few, indeed, so entirely gained and corrupted by the Ætolians, that his interest did [] prevail with them ; yet even these, though [] much exasperated against them at present, he saved after the battle. For Antiochus, being defeated at Thermopylæ, and forced to fly, immediately embarked for Asia. Upon this, the Consul Manius went against [] of the Ætolians, and besieged their towns, abandoning others to Philip. Thus great ravages [] committed by the Macedonians among the Dolopians and Magnesians on one hand, and among the Athamanians and Aperantians on [] other ; and Manius himself, having [] the city of Heraclea, besieged Naupactus, then in the hands of the Ætolians. But Flaminius, being touched with compassion for Greece, went from Peloponnesus to the Consul by water. [] began with remonstrating, that the Consul, though he had won the victory himself, suffered Philip [] reap the fruits of it ; and that while, to gratify [] resentment, he spent his time about [] town, the Macedonians [] subduing whole provinces and kingdoms. The besieged happened to [] Flaminius, called [] him from [] walls, stretched [] their hands and begged his interposition. [] gave them [] answer, but turned round and wept, and then immediately withdrew. Afterwards, however, [] discoursed with Manius so effectually, that he appeased his anger, and procured the Ætolians a truce, and time [] send deputies to Rome, to petition for favourable []

But [] he [] much greater [] to combat, when he applied to Manius in behalf of the Chalcidians. The Consul [] highly incensed [] them, [] account of the marriage which Antiochus celebrated among them, even after [] war [] begun : a marriage every way unsuitable as well as unseasonable ; for he [] far advanced in years, and [] bride very young. The person [] thus fell in love with was daughter to Cleoptolemus, and a virgin of incomparable beauty. This match brought the Chalcidians entirely into the king's interest, and they suffered him to make [] of their

¹ According to Livy, ¹ was not Titus, but Lucius Quinctius who was appointed Lieutenant to Cato.

city as ■ place of arms. After the battle he fled with great precipitation ■ Chalcis, and taking ■■ him his young wife, his treasurer, and his friends, sailed from thence ■ Asia. And ■■ Manius in his indignation marched directly against Chalcis, Flaminius followed, and endeavoured to appease his resentment. At last ■■ succeeded, by his assiduities with him and the ■■ ■■ respectable Romans who were likely ■ have ■ influence upon him. The Chalcidians, thus saved from destruction, consecrated the most beautiful and the noblest of their public edifices to Titus Flaminius ; and such inscriptions ■ these ■ to be ■ upon them to this day : "The people dedicated this Gymnasium to Titus and Hercules ; the people consecrate the Delphinium ■ Titus and Apollo." Nay, what is more, even in our days ■ priest of Titus is formally elected and declared ; and on occasions ■ sacrifice to him when the libations ■ over, they sing a hymn, the greatest part of which, from the length of it, I omit, and only give the conclusion :

■■■■■■■■ protecting power we prove, her faith adore, her v ■■■■ love,
Still, as our ■■■■ to heaven aspire, let Rome and Titus wake the lyre !
■■ these our grateful altar-bless, and our long Pæans pour immortal praise.

The rest of the Grecians conferred upon him all due honours ; and what realized those honours, and added to their lustre, was the extraordinary affection of the people, which he had gained by his lenity and moderation. For it he happened to be at variance with any one upon ■■■■ of business, or about a point of honour, as for instance, with Philopœmen, and with Diophanes, general of the Achæans, he ■■■■ gave in ■■ malignity, ■■ carried his ■■■■ into action, but let it expire in words, in such expostulations as the freedom of public debates may seem to justify. Indeed, no ■■■■ ever found him vindictive, but ■■ often discovered a hastiness and passionate turn. Setting this aside, he was the ■■■■ agreeable man in the world, and ■■ pleasantry mixed with strong ■■■■ distinguished his conversation. Thus, to divert the Achæans from their purpose of conquering the island of Zacynthus, he told them, "It ■■■■ ■■ dangerous for them to put their heads out of Peloponnesus, ■■ it ■■■■ for the tortoise to trust his out of his shell." In the first conference which Philip and he had about peace, Philip taking occasion ■■ say, "Titus, you come with a ■■■■ retinue, whereas I ■■■■ quite alone," Flaminius answered, "No wonder if you come alone, for you have killed all your friends and relations." Dinocrates the Messenian being in company at Rome, drank until he was intoxicated, and then put on a woman's habit, and danced in that disguise. Next day he applied to Flaminius, and begged his assistance in ■■ design which he had conceived, to withdraw Mesene from the Achæan league. Flaminius answered, "I ■■■■ consider of it ; but I ■■■■ surprised that you, who conceived such great designs, can sing and dance at ■■ carousal." And when the ambassadors of Antiochus represented ■■ the Achæans, how numerous the king's forces were, and, to make them appear still more so, reckoned them up by all their different ■■■■ : "I ■■■■ ped once," said Flaminius, "with ■■ friend ; and upon my complaining

of the great number of dishes, expressing my wonder how he could furnish his table with such a vast variety; be not uneasy about that, my friend, for it is all hog's flesh, and the difference is only in the dressing and the sauce. In like manner, I say to you, my Achæan friend, be astonished at the number of Antiochus's forces, at these pikemen, these halberdiers and cuirassiers; for they are all Syrians, only distinguished by the trifling they bear."

After these great actions in Greece, and the conclusion of the war with Antiochus, Flaminius was created Censor. This is the chief dignity in the state, and the crown, as it is of all its honours. He had for colleague the son of Marcellus, who had been five times Consul. They expelled four senators who were men of no great name; and they admitted citizens all who offered, provided that their parents were free. But they forced this by Terentius Culeo, a tribune of the people, who, in opposition to the nobility, procured such orders from the people. Two of the greatest and most powerful men of those times, Scipio Africanus and Marcus Cato, were then at variance with each other. Flaminius appointed the former president of the senate, as the first and best in the commonwealth; and with the latter he entirely broke, the following unhappy occasion. Titus had a brother named Lucius Quinctius Flaminius, unlike him in all respects, but quite abandoned in pleasures, and regardless of decorum. This Lucius had a favourite boy whom he carried with him, even when he commanded armies and governed provinces. One day, as they were drinking, the boy, making his court to Lucius, said, "I love you tenderly, that preferring your satisfaction to my own, I left a show of gladiators, to come to you, though I have seen many killed." Lucius, delighted with the flattery, made answer, "If that be all, you need not be in the least uneasy, for I shall soon satisfy your longing." He immediately ordered a convict to be brought from the prison, and having sent for one of his lictors, commanded him to strike off the man's head, in the room where they were carousing. Valerius Antias writes, that this was done to gratify a mistress. And Livy relates, from Cato's writings, that a Gaulish deserter being at the door with his wife and children, Lucius took him into the banqueting-room, and killed him with his own hand; but it is probable, that Cato said this to aggravate the charge. For that the person killed was a deserter, but a prisoner, and a condemned one too, appears from many writers, and particularly from Cicero, in his treatise on Old Age, where he introduces Cato himself giving that account of the matter.

Upon this account, Cato, who was Censor, and himself to obnoxious persons from the senate, expelled Lucius though he was of Consular dignity. His brother thought this proceeding reflected dishonour upon himself; and they both went into the assembly in the form of suppliants and besought the people with tears, that Cato might be obliged to assign his brother for fixing such a mark of disgrace upon so illustrious a family. The

request appeared reasonable. Cato without the least hesitation ■■■ out, and standing up with ■■ colleague, interrogated Titus, whether ■■ knew anything of ■■■ feast. Titus answering in the negative, Cato related ■■ affair, and called upon Lucius to ■■■ upon oath, whether it ■■ not ■■. As Lucius made ■■ reply, the people determined the ■■■ of infamy to be just, and conducted Cato home with great honour, from the tribunal.

Titus, greatly concerned at his brother's misfortune, leagued with the inveterate enemies of Cato, and gaining ■■ majority in ■■ senate, quashed and annulled ■■ the contracts, leases, and bargains which Cato had made, relating to ■■ public ■■■, and stirred up many and violent prosecutions against him. ■■ I know ■■ whether ■■ acted well, or agreeably to good policy, in ■■ becoming ■■ mortal enemy to a man who had only done what became a lawful magistrate and a good citizen, for the sake of one who ■■ a relation indeed, but ■■ unworthy one, and who had ■■ with the punishment ■■ deserved. Some time after, however, the people being assembled in ■■ theatres ■■ the shows, and the ■■■ seated, according ■■ custom, ■■ the ■■■ honourable place, Lucius ■■ observed to go in a humble and dejected manner, and sit down upon one of the lowest benches. The people could not bear ■■ see this, but called out to him to ■■ up higher, and ceased not until he went to the Consular bench, who made ■■■ for him. The native ambition of Flaminius was applauded, while it found sufficient ■■■ employ itself upon in the ■■■ we have given account of. And ■■ serving in the army as a Tribune, after he had been Consul, was regarded with a favourable eye, though no one required it of him. But when he ■■ arrived ■■ an age that excused him from all employments, he ■■ blamed for indulging ■■ violent passion for fame, and a youthful impetuosity in that inactive season of life. To some excess of ■■ kind ■■■ to have been owing his behaviour with respect to Hannibal,¹ at which the world ■■ much offended. For Hannibal having ■■ his country, took refuge first ■■ the court of Antiochus. But Antiochus, after he had lost the battle of Phrygia, gladly accepting conditions of peace, Hannibal ■■ again forced ■■ fly; and after wandering through many countries, ■■ length settled in Bithynia, and put himself under the protection of Prusias. The Romans knew this perfectly well, but they took ■■ notice of it, considering him now ■■ ■■ enfeebled by age, and overthrown by fortune. But Flaminius, being sent by the ■■■ ■■ ■■ embassy to Prusias about other matters, and seeing Hannibal ■■ his court, could ■■ endure that he should ■■ suffered to live. And though

¹ Flaminius was no more than 44 years of age, when he went ambassador to Prusias. It was not therefore an unreasonable desire of a public character, or extravagant passion for fame, which was blamed in him on this occasion, but an unworthy persecution of a great, though unfortunate man. We are inclined, how-

ever to think, that he had secret instructions from the senate for what he did; for it is not probable that a man of his mild and humane disposition would choose to hunt down an old unhappy warrior: and Plutarch confirms this opinion afterwards.

much intercession and entreaty in behalf of a man who was his suppliant, lived with him under the influence of hospitality, he could prevail.

There was then an oracle, which prophesied concerning the end of Hannibal,

"Libyæan earth shall hide the bones of Hannibal."

He therefore thought of nothing but ending his days in Carthage, being buried in Libya. In Bithynia there is a sandy place near the sea, which has a small village in it called Libyssa. In this neighbourhood Hannibal lived. But having always been apprised of the timidity of Prusias, and distrusting him on that account, dreading withal the attempts of the Romans, he had time before ordered several subterraneous passages to be dug under the house; which continued a great way under ground, and terminated in several different places, but were so indiscriminate without. As he was informed of the orders which Flaminius gave, he attempted to make escape by those passages; but finding the king's guards at the outlets, he resolved to kill himself. Some say, he wound his cloak about his neck, and ordered his servant to put his knees upon his back, and pull with all his force, and so to leave twisting till he had quite strangled him. Others tell us, that, like Themistocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood. But Livy writes, that having poison in readiness, he mixed it for a draught; and taking the cup in his hand, "Let us deliver the Romans," said he, "from their cares and anxieties, since they think it tedious and dangerous to wait for the death of a poor hated old man. Yet shall not Titus gain conquest worth envying, or suitable to the generous proceedings of his ancestors, who sent to caution Pyrrhus, though a victorious enemy, against the poison that was prepared for him."

Thus Hannibal is said to have died. When the news was brought to the senate, many in that august body were highly displeased. Flaminius appeared officious and cruel in his precautions, to procure the death of Hannibal, now tamed by his misfortunes, a bird that through age had lost its tail and feathers, and suffered to live. And as he had orders to put him to death, it was plain that it was out of a passion for fame, and to be mentioned in aftertimes as the destroyer of Hannibal.¹ On this occasion they recollected and admired more than ever the humane and generous behaviour of Scipio Africanus; for when he had vanquished Hannibal in Africa, at a time when he was extremely formidable, and deemed invincible, he neither insisted on his banishment, nor demanded him of his fellow citizens; but, as he had embraced him at the conference which he had with him before the battle, so, after

¹ If this was really the motive of Flaminius, and nothing of a political tendency entered into this dastardly destruction of that great general, it would hardly

be possible for all the virtues, all the triumphs of the Romans, to redeem him from the infamy of so base an action.

it, when he conditions of peace, he offered affront insult his misfortunes

It reported that they again Ephesus, and Hannibal, as they walked together, taking the upper hand, Africanus it, and walked without the least concern Afterwards they fell about great generals, and Hannibal asserted Alexander greatest general the world had seen, that Pyrrhus the second, and himself the third. Scipio smiled at this, and said, "what rank would you have placed yourself in, if I conquered you?" "O Scipio!" said he, "then I would have placed myself the third, but the first"

The generality admiring this moderation of Scipio, greater fault with Flaminius for taking the spoils of enemy, whom another had slain. There were some, indeed, who applauded the thing, and observed, "That while Hannibal lived, they must have looked upon him as a fire, which wanted only be blown into a flame. That in the vigour of his age, it not his bodily strength or his right hand which was so dreadful to the Romans, but his capacity and experience, together with his innate rancour and hatred to their name. And that these are altered by age; for the disposition still overrules the manners, fortune, far from remaining same, changes continually, and by new hopes invites those to new who were ever with us in their hearts" And the subsequent events tributed still to the justification of Flaminius. For, in the first place, Aristonicus, the of a harper's daughter, the strength of his being reputed the natural son of Eumenes, filled all Asia with tumult and rebellion and in the next place, Mithridates, after such strokes as he had with from Sylla and Fimbria, and so terrible a destruction among his troops and officers, up stronger than against Lucullus, both by and land. Indeed, Hannibal was brought as Caius Marius had been. For Hannibal enjoyed the friendship of a king, from whom received liberal supplies, and with whose officers, both in the navy and army, had important connections, whereas Marius a wanderer in Africa, and forced beg his bread. But the Romans, who laughed his fall, after bled, in their streets, under rods and axes, and prostrated themselves before him it is, there nothing either great or little at this moment, which hold so the days to come, and that the changes have experience only determine with lives. For this reason, some tell Flaminius not this of himself, but that he joined with Lucius Scipio, that the sole purpose of their embassy to procure the death of Hannibal. We after this, of any political military Flaminius, only know that he died in his bed.

CATO THE CENSOR.

IT ■■■■ that Marcus Cato was born ■■■■ Tusculum, of ■■■■ place his family originally was, and that before he ■■■■ concerned ■■■■ civil ■■■■ military affairs, he lived upon ■■■■ which his father ■■■■ him ■■■■ the country of the Sabines. Though ■■■■ ■■■■ ■■■■ reckoned to have been persons of no note, yet Cato himself boasts of his father ■■■■ brave ■■■■ and ■■■■ excellent soldier, and ■■■■ us that ■■■■ grandfather Cato received several military rewards, ■■■■ that having ■■■■ five horses killed under him, he had the value ■■■■ them paid him out of the treasury, as ■■■■ acknowledgment of ■■■■ gallant behaviour. As the Romans always gave the appellation of *new men*¹ to those who, having no honours transmitted to them from ■■■■ ancestors, began to distinguish themselves, they ■■■■ tioned Cato by the same style : but he used to say, ■■■■ was indeed ■■■■ with respect ■■■■ offices and dignities, but with regard to services and virtues of his ancestors, he ■■■■ very ancient.

His third name, at first, was ■■■■ Cato, but Priscus. It was afterwards changed to that of Cato, on account of his great wisdom ; for the Romans call wise men *Catos*. ■■■■ had red hair and grey eyes, as this epigram ill-naturedly enough declares :

■■■■ eyes so grey and hair so red, with teeth so sharp and keen,
 ■■■■ 't fright the shades when thou art dead, and hell won't let thee in.

Inured ■■■■ labour and temperance, and brought up, ■■■■ it were, in camps, ■■■■ had an excellent constitution with respect to strength as well as health. And he considered eloquence ■■■■ a valuable contingent, an instrument of great things, not only useful but necessary for every man who does ■■■■ choose ■■■■ live obscure and inactive ; for which reason he exercised and improved that talent in the neighbouring boroughs and villages, by undertaking the causes of ■■■■ as applied ■■■■ him ; ■■■■ that he ■■■■ soon allowed ■■■■ be an able pleader, and afterwards a good orator.

From this time, all that conversed with him discovered in him such ■■■■ gravity of behaviour, such ■■■■ dignity and depth of sentiment, as qualified him for the greatest affairs in the ■■■■ respectable government in the world. For he was not only ■■■■ disinterested ■■■■ to plead without ■■■■ or reward, but it appeared that the honour to be gained in that department was not ■■■■ principal view. His ambition was military glory ; and *when yet but a youth, ■■■■ had fought ■■■■ many battles that his breast ■■■■ full of scars.* ■■■■

1 ■■■■ *novi homines* was annexed to the ■■■■ offices of ■■■■ and none had their statues or pictures but such as had borne those ■■■■ ■■■■ who had the place of his ancestors, was called noble, he ■■■■ had only his own, was called a *new man*; and he who had ■■■■ the one not the other, was called ignoble. So

says Asconius. But it does not appear that a man ■■■■ had borne a great office, the consulate for instance, was ignoble because he had not his statue or picture. For he might not ■■■■ it. ■■■■ himself did not choose it ; for reason we suppose was because he had none of his ancestors ; though he was pleased to assign

himself tells us, he made his first campaign ■ years ■ Hannibal, in the height of his prosperity, ■ laying Italy ■ with ■ and sword. In battle he stood firm, had a ■ and executing hand, ■ fierce countenance, and spoke ■ his enemy in ■ threatening and ■ ; for he rightly judged, and endeavoured ■ convince others, that such ■ kind of ■ often strikes ■ adversary with greater terror than the sword itself. He always marched ■ foot and carried his ■ , followed only by ■ who carried ■ provisions. And, it ■ said, ■ never ■ ■gry or found fault with that servant, whatever he ■ before him ; b ■ when he ■ ■ leisure from military duty, would ease and assist him in dressing it. All the time he ■ in the army ■ drank nothing but water, except that when almost burned up with thirst he would ask for a little vinegar, ■ when he found ■ strength and spirits exhausted he would take a little wine.

Near his country-seat ■ a cottage, which formerly belonged to Manius Curius¹ who ■ thrice honoured with a triumph. Cato often walked thither, and reflecting on the smallness of ■ farm and the ■ of the dwelling used to think of the *peculiar virtues of Dentatus*, who, though he was the greatest ■ in Rome, had subdued the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, cultivated this little spot of ground with his ■ own hands, and after three triumphs lived in this cottage. Here the ambassadors of the Samnites found him in ■ chimney-corner dressing turnips, and offered him a large present of gold ; but he absolutely refused it, and gave them this answer : *A man who ■ be satisfied with such a supper has no need of gold : and I think it more glorious to conquer the ■ of it, than to have it myself.* Full of these thoughts Cato returned home, and taking a view of his own estate, his ■ and manner of living, added to his own labour, and retrenched his unnecessary expenses.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum, Cato, who ■ then very young,² served under him. Happening at that ■ lodge with ■ Pythagorean philosopher named Nearchus, he desired ■ h ■ of his doctrine ; and learning from ■ the ■ maxims which Plato advances, *That pleasure is the greatest incentive ■ evil : that the greatest burden and calamity to ■ soul is ■ body, from which ■ cannot disengage herself, but by such a ■ use of reason ■ shall ■ and separate her from all corporeal passions :* ■ became ■ more attached ■ frugality and temperance. Yet it ■ said that he learned Greek very late, and ■ considerably advanced in years when ■ began ■ read the Grecian writers, among whom he improved ■ eloquence, some-

1 ■ ■ ■ ■ triumphed twice in his first consul's, in the 433d year of Rome, first over the Samnites, and afterwards ■ the ■ And eight years after that, in his third consul's he triumphed over Pyrrhus. After this, he led up the law triumph, called

Ovation, for his victory over the Lucanians.

2 Fabius Maximus took Tarentum in his 56th consul's, in the year of Rome 554. Cato was then 23 years old ; but he had made his first campaign under the name Fabius 5 years before.

by Thucydides, but by Demosthenes very greatly. His writings sufficiently adorned with precepts and examples borrowed from the Greek, his maxims and we many that are literally translated from same originals.

At that time there flourished at a nobleman of great power eminence, called Valerius Flaccus, whose penetration him distinguish a rising genius and virtuous disposition, whose inclined him to encourage conduct the path of glory. This nobleman had an estate contiguous Cato's, where often speak of his neighbour's laborious and of life. They him used early in the morning to the towns in neighbourhood, and causes of such as applied him; from thence he farm, where, in a flock, if it winter, naked, if it was summer, he would labour with his domestics, and afterwards sit down with them, and same bread, and drink of the same wine. They related also many other instances of his condescension and moderation, and mentioned several of his short sayings that full of wit and good sense. Valerius, charmed with his character, sent him an invitation to dinner. From that time, by frequent conversation, he found in him much of temper and ready wit, that he considered him an excellent plant, which wanted only cultivation, and deserved be removed to a better soil. He therefore persuaded him to go Rome, and apply himself to affairs of state.

There his pleadings soon procured him friends and admirers; the interest of Valerius, too, greatly assisted his rise to preferment; so that first made a tribune of the soldiers, and afterwards questor. And having gained great reputation and honour in those employments, he was joined with Valerius himself in the highest dignities, being his colleague both consul and censor.

Among all ancient senators, he attached himself chiefly to Fabius Maximus, much on account of the great power and honour he had acquired, for the sake of and manners which Cato considered as the best model form himself upon. So that he made no scruple of differing with the great Scipio, who, though that time but a young man, yet actuated by a spirit of emulation, was person who most opposed the power of Fabius. For being questor with Scipio to the in Africa, and perceiving that indulged himself, usual, in unbounded expense, and public money upon the troops, he took the liberty observing, "That the itself the greatest evil, but the consequence of that expense, since it corrupted the ancient simplicity the soldiery, who, when they more money than was necessary for their subsistence, be it upon luxury and riot." Scipio answered, "he no very exact and frugal treasurer, because intended spread sails in of war, and because country expected him of services performed, of money expended." Upon Cato left Sicily, and to Rome, where, together

with Fabius, he loudly complained to the senate ■ "Scipio's immense profusion, and of his passing his time, like a boy, in wrestling-rings and theatres, ■ ■ he had not been ■ ■ ■ make war, but ■ exhibit games and shows." ■ consequence of this, tribunes ■ sent ■ examine into the affair, with orders, if the accusation proved true, ■ bring Scipio back to Rome. Scipio represented to them, "That ■ depended entirely upon the greatness of ■ preparations," and made them sensible, "*That though he spent his hours of leisure in a cheerful manner with his friends, his liberal way of living had not caused him to neglect any great ■ important business.*" With this defence the commissioners ■ satisfied, and he ■ sail for Africa.

As for Cato, he continued to gain so much influence and authority by ■ eloquence, that he ■ commonly called the Roman Demosthenes; but ■ ■ still more celebrated for his manner of living. ■ excellence ■ ■ speaker awakened ■ general emulation among the youth ■ distinguish themselves the same way, and to surpass each other; but few were willing ■ imitate him in the ancient custom of tilling the field with their own hands, in eating ■ dinner prepared without fire, and a spare frugal supper; few, like him, could be satisfied with a plain dress and a poor cottage, or think it more honourable not to want the superfluities of life than to possess them. For the commonwealth now no longer retained its primitive purity and integrity, by reason of the vast extent of its dominions; the many different affairs under its management, and the infinite number of people that were subject ■ its command, had introduced a great variety of customs and modes of living. Justly, therefore, was Cato entitled to admiration, when the other citizens were frightened at labour, and enervated by pleasure, and he alone was unconquered by either, not only while young and ambitious, but when old and grey-haired, after his consulship and triumph; like a brave wrestler, who, after he has ■ off conqueror, observes the ■ rules, and continues his exercises to the last.

He himself tells us that he never wore a garment that ■ him ■ than 100 drachmæ, that even when prætor ■ consul he drank the ■ wine with his slaves; that ■ dinner ■ him from the market above 30 asses, and that he ■ thus frugal for the sake of his country, that he might be able to endure the harder services in war. He adds, that having got, among ■ goods he ■ heir to, ■ piece ■ Babylonian tapestry, he ■ld it immediately; that the walls of his country-houses were neither plastered nor white-washed; that ■ ■ gave ■ for a slave than 1500 drachmæ, ■ ■ requiring in his ■ delicate shapes and fine faces, but ■ strength ■d ability ■ labour, that they might be ■ to ■ employed in h ■ stables about ■ cattle, or such ■ business; and these ■ thought ■ ■ again ■ they ■ old,¹ that he might have no

■ ■ ■ says ■ ■ ■ "A master of ■ family should ■ his ■ and all ■ horned ■ that are

of a delicate ■ ■ ■ h's she ■ ■ are not hardy, their wool their very ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ should sell his old waggons, ■ ■ old

useless persons ■ maintain. ■ a word, *he thought nothing cheap that was superfluous*; that what a man has no need of is dear ■ at a penny; and that it is much better ■ have fields where the plough ■ cattle feed, than fine gardens and ■ that require ■ watering and sweeping.

Some imputed these things to a ■ of spirit, while others supposed ■ himself to this contracted ■ of living, in order ■ by his example the growing luxury of the age. For my part, I ■ but charge his using ■ like ■ many beasts of burden, and turning them off, ■ selling them, when grown old, to ■ account of a ■ and ungenerous spirit, which thinks that ■ sole tie between man and man is interest or necessity. But goodness moves in a larger sphere than justice: the obligations of law and equity reach only ■ mankind, but kindness and beneficence ■ should be extended ■ of every species; ■ these still flow from the breast of a well-natured man, ■ that issue from the living fountain. A good man will take ■ of his horses and dogs, not only while they ■ young, but when ■ and past service. Thus the people of Athens, when they had finished the temple called *Hecatompodon*, set at liberty the beasts of burden that had been chiefly employed in that work, suffering them to pasture at large, free from any further service. It is said, that ■ of these afterwards came of its own accord to work, and putting it- ■ the head of the labouring cattle, marched before them to the citadel.—This pleased the people, and they made a decree that it should be kept ■ the public charge as long ■ it lived. The graves of Cimon's mares, with which he thrice conquered at the Olympic games, are still ■ be seen near his own tomb. Many have shown particular marks of regard in burying the dogs, which they have cherished and been fond of; and among the rest, Xantippus of old, whose dog ■ by the side of his galley to Salamis, when the Athenians ■ forced ■ abandon their city, was afterwards buried by ■ upon a promontory, which to this day is called the *dog's grave*. We certainly ought not to treat living creatures like shoes ■ household goods, which, when worn ■ with use, we throw away; and, ■ it only ■ learn benevolence to human kind, we should be merciful ■ other creatures. For my ■ part, I would ■ sell even ■ old ox that had laboured for ■; much less would I remove, for ■ sake of a little money, ■ grown old ■ service, from ■ usual place and diet; for to him, poor man! ■ would ■ as banishment; since he could be of ■ ■ the buyer ■ he ■ seller. ■ Cato, ■ he took a pride in these things, ■ that, when consul, he left his war-horse in Spain, to ■ the public the charge of his freight. Whether such things as these ■ instances of greatness ■ littleness of soul, ■ reader judge for himself.

Instrument of husbandry: ■ should sell such ■ as were old and useless, and, every ■ else that is old or useless. A master of a family should love to sell,

not to buy." What a fine contrast there is between the spirit of ■ old ■ that of the liberal-minded, the benevolent ■

was, however, a man of temperance. For, when general of the army, he took no more from the public, for himself and those about him, than three Attic *medimni* of wheat a month; and a *medimnus* and a half of barley for his horses. And he governor of Sardinia, though his predecessors had put the province to a very great expense for pavilions, bedding, and apparel, and still by the number of friends they had about them, and by the great and sumptuous entertainments they gave, on the contrary, he was as remarkable for his frugality. Indeed, he put the public to no charge. Instead of making a carriage, he went from another, attended only by an officer, carried his robe and a vessel for libations. But if in these things he appeared plain and easy to those who under his command, he preserved a gravity and severity in everything else. For he was inexorable in whatever public justice, and inflexibly rigid in the execution of his orders; so the Roman government had before appeared to that people either awful or amiable.¹

This contrast was found, not only in his manners but in his style, which was elegant, facetious, and familiar, and at the same time grave, nervous, and sententious. Thus Plato tells us, "the outside of Socrates was that of a satyr and buffoon, but his soul all virtue, and from within him came such divine and pathetic things as pierced the heart, and drew tears from the hearers." And as the same may justly be affirmed of Cato, I cannot comprehend their meaning, compare his language to that of Lysias. I leave this, however, to be decided by those who are more capable than myself of judging of the several of styles used among the Romans; and being persuaded that a man's disposition may be discovered much better by his speech than by his looks (though some are of a different opinion,) I shall set down some of Cato's remarkable sayings.

One day when the Romans clamoured violently and unseasonably for a distribution of corn, he dissuade them from it he thus began his address; *It is a difficult task, my fellow citizens, to speak to the belly, because it has ears.* Another time, complaining of the luxury of the Romans, he said, *It was a hard thing that city from ruin where a fish was sold for more than an ox.* On another occasion, he said, *The Roman people were like sheep, for as they were brought to stir singly, but all in a body readily follow their leaders, just such are ye.* The men whose counsel you would take individuals, lead you with a crowd. Speaking of the power of women, he said, *All women naturally govern the women, govern all men, and wives govern us.* But this might be taken from the Apophthegms of Themistocles. For, his directing in most things through his mother he said,

1 The only amusement was to hear the instructions of the poet Ennius, under whom he learned the Greek sentence. He

was taken "savage" from his province, and reduced the interest upon loans almost to not ing.

The Athenians govern the Greeks, I govern the Athenians, you, wife, govern me, and your son governs you: let him then use that power moderation, which, child as he is, sets him above all Greeks. Another of Cato's sayings was, That Roman people fixed the value, not only of the several kinds of colours, but of the arts and sciences. For, added he, as the dyers dye that sort of purple is most agreeable to you, so our youth only study and strive to excel in such things as you esteem and commend. Exhorting the people to virtue, he said, If it is by virtue and temperance that you become great, change not for the worse; but if by intemperance and vice, change for the better; for you are already great enough by such means as these. Of such persons perpetually soliciting for great offices, he said, Like those who knew not their way, they wanted victors always to conduct them. He found fault with the people for often choosing the persons consuls; You either, said he, think the consulate of little worth, or that there is but few worthy of the consulate. Concerning one of his enemies who led a very profligate and infamous life, he said, His mother takes it for a curse and not a prayer when any one wishes this son may survive her. Pointing to a man who had sold a paternal estate on the sea-side, he pretended to admire him, as one that was stronger than the sea itself; For, said he, what the sea could not have swallowed without difficulty, this man has taken down with all the ease imaginable. When king Eumenes¹ came to Rome, the senate received him with extraordinary respect, and the great men strove which should do him the greatest honour, but Cato visibly neglected and shunned him. Upon which somebody said, If he do you shun Eumenes, who is so good a man, and so great a friend to the Romans? That may be, answered Cato, but I look upon a king as a creature feeds upon human flesh; and of all the kings that have been much cried up, I find not one be compared with an Epaminondas, a Pericles, a Themistocles, a Manius Curius, with Hamilcar surnamed Barca. He used to say, that his enemies hated him, because he neglected his private concerns, and before day mind those of the public. But that he had rather his good actions should go unrewarded, than his bad unpunished; and that he pardoned everybody's faults more than his own. The Romans having three ambassadors to the king of Bithynia, of whom one had the gout, another his skull trepanned, and the third reckoned little better than a fool, Cato smiled, and said, They had an embassy which had neither feet, head, nor heart. When Scipio applied to him, at the request of Polybius, in behalf of the Achaean exiles,² and the senate much canvassed the

¹ Eumenes went to Rome in the year of Rome 215. Cato was then 39 years old.

² The Achaeans, in the first year of Olympiad 163, entered into measures for delivering up the Grecian country to the king of Persia; but, being discovered, 1000 of them were seized, and compelled to live

exiles in Italy. There they continued 17 years; after which, about 220, who were still living, were restored by a decree of the senate, which was particularly made in favour of Polybius, who was one of the number.

senate, speaking for their being restored, and some against it, Cato rose up, and said, *As if we had nothing else to do, we sit here all day debating whether a few poor old Greeks should be buried by grave-diggers or those of their own country.* The decreed, that the exiles should return home; and Polybius, days after, endeavoured to procure another meeting of that respectable body, to restore those exiles to their former honours in Achaia. Upon this he sounded Cato, who answered, smiling, *This was just as if Ulysses should have wanted to enter Cyclops' again for a hat and a belt which he had left behind.* It was saying of his, *That wise men learn more from fools, than fools from wise; for wise avoid the error of fools, while fools profit by the examples of the wise.* Another of his sayings was, *That he liked a young man that blushed, more than that turned pale; and not like a soldier who moved his hands in marching, and his feet in fighting, and who snored louder than he shouted in battle.* Jesting upon a very fat man, he said, *Of what service his belly can such a body be, which is nothing but belly?* When an epicurean desired to be admitted into his friendship, he said, *He could not live with one whose palate had quicker sensations than his heart.* He used to say, *The soul of a lover lived in the body of another: And that all his life he never repented but of three things: the first was, that he had trusted a woman with a secret, the second, that he had gone by sea, when he might have gone by land; and third, that he had passed one day without having a will by him.*¹ To an old debauchee, he said, *Old age has deformities enough of its own: do not add to it the deformity of vice.* A tribune of the people, who had the character of a poisoner, proposing a bad law, and taking great pains to have it passed, Cato said to him, *Young man, I know which is most dangerous, to drink what you mix, or what you propose.* Being scurrilously treated by a man who led a dissolute and infamous life, he said, *It is upon very equal terms I contend with you: for you are accustomed to be spoken of, and can speak it with pleasure; but with me it is unusual to hear it, and disagreeable to speak it.* Such was the manner of his repartees and short sayings.

Being appointed consul along with his friend Valerius Flaccus, the government of that part of Spain which the Romans call *ulterior, hither, to his lot.*² While he was subduing some of the nations there by arms, and winning others by kindness, a great army of barbarians fell upon him, and he was in danger of being

¹ This has been misunderstood by all the translators, who have agreed in rendering it, "that he had passed one day idly."

² As Cato's troops consisted, for the most part, of raw soldiers, he took great pains to discipline them, considering that they had to deal with the Spaniards, who, in their wars with the Romans and Carthaginians, had learned the military art,

and were naturally brave and courageous. Before he came to action he sent away his fleet, that his soldiers might place all their hopes in their valour. With the same view, when he came near the enemy, he took a compass, and posted his army behind them in the plain; so that the Spaniards were between him and his camp.

driven ■■■ to dishonour. ■■■ occasion ■■■ desire succours of his neighbours the Celtiberians, who demanded 200 ■■■ that service. ■■■ the officers of his army thought ■■■ intolerable, that the Romans should be obliged ■■■ purchase assistance ■■■ the barbarians : but Cato said, *It is no such great hardship ; for if we conquer, we shall pay ■■■ at the enemy's expense ; ■■■ if we ■■■ conquered, there will be nobody either ■■■ pay ■■■ the ■■■ gained the battle, ■■■ everything afterwards succeeded* ■■■ wish. Polybius tells us, that the walls of all ■■■ Spanish ■■■ on this ■■■ the river Batis were raised by his command in one day,¹ notwithstanding the ■■■ were numerous, ■■■ their inhabitants brave ; Cato himself says, he took more cities than he spent days in Spain : ■■■ is ■■■ a vain boast ; for they were actually no fewer than 400. Though this campaign afforded the soldiers great booty, he gave each of them a pound weight of silver besides, saying, *It ■■■ better that many of the Romans should return with silver ■■■ their pockets, than a few with gold.* And for his own part, he ■■■ us, that of all that was taken ■■■ the war, nothing ■■■ his share but what he ate and drank. *Not that I blame,* says he, *those that seek their ■■■ advantage in these things ; but I had rather contend for valour with the brave, than for wealth with the rich, or ■■■ rapaciousness with the covetous.*

And he ■■■ only kept himself clear of extortion, but ■■■ that were immediately under his direction. He had five ■■■ with him in this expedition, one of whom, named Paccus, had purchased three boys that ■■■ among the prisoners : but when he knew that his master ■■■ informed of it, unable to bear the thoughts of coming into his presence, he hanged himself. Upon which Cato sold the boys, and put the money into the public treasury.

While he was settling the affairs of Spain, Scipio the Great, who was his enemy, and wanted to break the ■■■ of ■■■ success, and have the finishing of the war himself, managed ■■■ so as ■■■ get himself appointed his ■■■ After which ■■■ made all possible haste ■■■ the command of the army from him. But Cato hearing of ■■■ march, took five companies of foot, and 500 horse, ■■■ a convoy to attend upon Scipio, and as he went to ■■■ him, defeated the Lacetanians, and took among them ■■■ Roman deserters, whom he caused to be put to death. ■■■ upon Scipio's expressing his displeasure ■■■ this, he answered ironically, *Rome would be great indeed, if men of ■■■ would not yield the palm of virtue ■■■ the commonalty, and if plebeians, like himself, would ■■■ for excellence ■■■ men of birth and quality.* ■■■s, ■■■ had decreed, that nothing should be altered which Cato

¹ As the dread of his name procured him great respect in all the provinces beyond the Iberus, he wrote the same day private letters to ■■■ commanders of several fortified towns, ordering them to demolish without delay their fortifications ; and assuring them that he would

pardon none but such as readily complied with his orders. Every one of the commanders believing the orders to be sent only to himself, immediately ■■■ their walls and ■■■ Liv. l. xxiv. c. 18.

left them the opinion, the expressions of the Greeks flowed only from the lips, while those of the Roman came from the heart.¹

Antiochus having blocked up the narrow pass of Thermopylae his troops, and added walls and entrenchments the natural fortifications of the place, down there unconcerned, thinking the could touch him. And indeed the Romans despaired of forcing on Cato, recollecting circuit Persians had on like occasion,² night with a proper detachment.

When they advanced a considerable height, the guide, who of the prisoners, missed way, and wandering about among impracticable places and precipices, threw soldiers inexpressible and despair. Cato seeing the danger, ordered forces halt, while he, with one Lucius Manlius, who dexterous in climbing steep mountains,³ forward with great difficulty and the hazard of lie, midnight without any moon, scrambling among wild olive trees and steep rocks that still more impeded view, and added darkness the obscurity. At they hit upon a path which seemed to lead down to the enemy's camp. There they set up marks upon some of the conspicuous rocks on the top of the mountain Callidromus, and returning the same way, took the whole party with them, whom they conducted by the direction of the marks, and regained the little path, where they made a proper disposition of the troops. They had marched but a little farther, when the path left them, and they saw nothing before but a precipice, which seemed them still more, for they could not yet perceive that they were near the enemy.

The day began to appear, when one of them thought he heard the sound of human voices, and a little after they saw the Grecian camp, and advanced guard at the foot of the rock. Cato, therefore, made a halt, and to acquaint the Firmians that he wanted speak with them in private.⁴ These troops whose fidelity and courage he experienced the danger. They hastened into his presence, when he thus addressed them: "I want to take one of the enemy alive, learn of him who they are that compose this advanced guard, and how many in number, and be informed what disposition and order of their whole army, and what preparations they have made to receive us, business requires speed and impetuosity of lions, who rush a herd of timorous beasts."

¹ There cannot be a stronger instance than this, that the brief expression of the Spartans was owing to the native simplicity of their manners and the sincerity of their hearts. It was the expression of nature—Artificial and circumlocutory expressions, like homothous paintings, are the consequences of licentious life.

² In the Persian war Xerxes with 300 Spartans sustained the shock of an innumerable multitude in the pass of Thermopylae until the barbarians to sh-

ing a compact round the mountains by his ways came upon him behind and cut him party in pieces.

³ The mountains to the east of the Straits of Thermopylae are comprehended under the name of Oeta, and the highest of them is called Callidromus at the foot of which is a road 60 feet broad. Liv. I. xxxvi. c. 15.

⁴ was a Roman colony in

When Cato ■ done speaking, ■ Firmians, without further preparation, poured down the mountain, surprised the advanced guard, dispersed them, took one armed man, and brought ■ Cato. The prisoner informed him, that the main body of the army ■ encamped with the king ■ the ■ pass, ■ the detachment which guarded the heights consisted of ■ select Ætolians. Cato, despising these troops, ■ well on account ■ number, ■ their negligence, drew ■ sword, and ■ upon ■ with all the alarm of voices and trumpets. The Ætolians no ■ saw him descend from the mountains, than they fled ■ main body, and put ■ whole in the ■ confusion.

At the ■ time Manius forced the entrenchments of Antiochus below, and poured into the pass with ■ army. Antiochus himself being wounded in the mouth with a stone, and having ■ of his teeth struck out, the anguish obliged him to turn ■ horse and retire. After his retreat, no part of his army could stand ■ shock of the Romans; and though there appeared no hope of escaping by flight, by reason of the straitness of the road, the deep marshes ■ one side and rocky precipices ■ the other, yet they crowded along through those ■ passages, and pushing each other down, perished miserably, out of fear of being destroyed by the Romans.

Cato, who was never sparing in his ■ praises, and thought boasting ■ natural attendant on great actions, is very pompous in his account of this exploit. He says, "That those who saw him charging the enemy, routing and pursuing them, declared, that Cato owed less to the people of Rome, than the people of Rome owed to Cato; and that the Consul Manius himself, coming hot from the fight, took him in his ■ as he too ■ panting from the action, and embracing him a long time, cried out, in a transport of joy, that neither he nor the whole Roman people could sufficiently reward Cato's merit."

Immediately after the battle, the Consul ■ him with ■ account of it ■ Rome, that ■ might be the first to carry the ■ of his own achievements. With a favourable wind he ■ to Brundisium: from thence ■ reached Tarentum in ■ day; and having travelled four days more, he arrived ■ Rome the ■ day after he landed, and ■ the first that brought the ■ the victory. His arrival filled the city with sacrifices and other testimonies of joy, and gave the people ■ high an opinion of themselves, that they now believed there could ■ bounds to their empire or their power.

These are the most remarkable of Cato's actions; and with respect ■ civil affairs, he appears to have ■ thought the impeaching of offenders, and bringing them to justice, a thing that ■ his attention. For he prosecuted several, and encouraged ■ assisted others in carrying on their prosecutions. Thus he ■ up Petilius against Scipio the Great; but secure in the dignity ■ family, and ■ greatness of mind, Scipio treated ■ accusation ■ the ■ contempt. Cato perceiving ■ ■ ■ capitally condemned, dropped ■ prosecution; ■ ■ ■

others who in the cause, impeached his brother Lucius Scipio, who was sentenced to a which his circumstances could answer, so that he was in danger of imprisonment; it was not without great difficulty and appealing the Tribunes that he was dismissed.

We have also account of a young man who procured a verdict against an enemy of his father who was lately dead, and him stigmatized. Cato met him as he was passing through the forum, and taking him by the hand, addressed him in these words: "It is thus we are sacrifice the of our parents, with blood of goats and lambs, but with the condemnation of their enemies."

Cato, however, not escape these attacks; but when in business of the gave least handle, certainly prosecuted, sometimes danger of being condemned. For it is said that near fifty impeachments were brought against him, and the last, when he was eighty-six years of age; on which occasion he made of that memorable expression; "*It is hard that I who have lived with of one generation, should be obliged to make my defence to those of another.*" Nor was this the end of his contests at the bar; for, four years after, at the age of ninety,¹ he impeached Servilius Galba: that, like Nestor, he lived through generations, and, like him, was always in action. In short, after having constantly opposed Scipio in of government, he lived until the time of young Scipio, adopted grandson, and of Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perseus and the Macedonians.

Ten years after his Consulship, Cato stood for the office of Censor, which the highest dignity in the republic. For, besides the other power and authority that attended this office, it gave the magistrate a right of inquiry into the lives and of the citizens. *The Romans did not think it proper that any one should be left to follow his inclinations without inspection or control,* either in marriage, in the procreation of children, in his table, in the company he kept. But, convinced that in these private of life a man's real character much distinguishable than in his public and political transactions, they appointed magistrates, the out of the patricians, and the other of the plebeians, to inspect, to correct, and to chastise such they found giving in to dissipation and licentiousness, and deserting the ancient and manners of living. *These great officers they called Censors: and they had power to deprive a Roman knight of his horse, to expel a senator that led a vicious and disorderly life.* They likewise took an estimate of each citizen's estate, and enrolled them according to their pedigree, quality, and condition.

¹ Livy's hero is not consistent with himself. Towards the beginning of his life he says that Cato was but seventy years old at the time of Hannibal's entrance into Italy, and at the conclusion he tells us that Cato died just at the beginning of the third Punic war. Hannibal came

into Italy in the year of Rome 534; and the third Punic war broke out seventy years after, in the year of Rome 604. According to this computation, Cato could not be more than eighty-seven years old when he died; and this account is con-

This office has several other great prerogatives annexed : it : and therefore when Cato solicited it, the principal [] opposed him. The motive to this opposition with [] of the Patricians [] envy : for they imagined [] would be a disgrace [] the nobility, [] persons of a mean and obscure origin were elevated to the highest honour in the state ; with [] it [] fear : for, conscious that their lives [] vicious, and that they [] departed from [] ancient simplicity of manners, they dreaded the austerity of Cato ; because they believed [] would be stern and inexorable in [] office. Having consulted and prepared their measures, they put up [] candidates in opposition [] Cato : and imagining that the people wanted [] governed by [] easy hand, they soothed them with hopes of a mild Censorship. Cato, on the contrary, without [] descending to [] least flattery or complaisance, in [] speeches from the [], professed his resolution [] punish every instance of vice ; and loudly declaring that the city wanted great reformation, conjured the people, if they were wise, [] choose, [] the mildest, but the severest physician. He told them that *he* [] of that character, and, among the patricians, Valerius Flaccus was another ; and that with him for his colleague, and him only, *he could hope to render good service to the commonwealth, by effectually cutting off, like another hydra, the spreading luxury and effeminacy of the* []. He added, that he saw others pressing into [] Censorship, in order [] exercise that office [] a bad manner, because they were afraid of such as would discharge it faithfully.

The Roman people, on this occasion, showed themselves truly great, and worthy of the best of leaders ; for, far from dreading the severity of this inflexible man, they rejected those smoother candidates that seemed ready to consult their pleasure in everything, and chose Valerius Flaccus with Cato ; attending to the latter not as a man that solicited the office of Censor, but as [] who, already possessed of it, gave out his orders by virtue of his authority.

The [] thing Cato did, was to [] his friend and colleague Lucius Valerius Flaccus chief of the senate, and [] expel many others [] house ; particularly Lucius Quintius, who h[] been Consul [] years before, and, what [] still a greater honour, was brother to Titus Flaminius,¹ who overthrew king Philip.

[] expelled also Manilius, another senator, whom the general opinion had marked [] for Consul, because [] had given h[] a kiss in the day-time, in the sight of his daughter. "For [] own part," he said, "his wife [] embraced him but when it thundered dreadfully," adding, by way of joke, "That he was happy when Jupiter pleased to thunder."

[] censured [] having merely indulged [] envy, when [] degraded Lucius, who was brother to Scipio the Great, and had been honoured with a triumph ; *for he took from [] his horse ;* and it [] believed that he did it to insult the memory of Scipio Africanus. [] there was another thing that rendered him []

¹ Polybius, Livy, [] Cicero make the surname of [] family Flaminia.

generally obnoxious, and that the reformation introduced point luxury. It was impossible for to begin openly, because the whole body of the people was infected, and therefore he took an indirect method. caused an estimate to of all apparel, carriages, female ornaments, furniture, and ; and exceeded 1500 *drachmae* in value, rated at times much, and imposed according that valuation. For every he made them pay three; finding themselves burdened with the tax, while the modest and frugal, with equal substance, paid much less to the public, they might induced retrench their appearance. This procured him many enemies, only among those who, rather than part with their luxury, submitted the tax, but among those who lessened the expense of their figure, to avoid it. For the generality of think that prohibition to show their wealth is the thing as taking it away, and that opulence is in the superfluities, in the necessities of life. And this (we are told) what surprised Aristo the philosopher; for he could comprehend why those that are possessed of superfluities should be accounted happy, rather than such abound in what is necessary and useful. But Scopas the Thessalian, when one of his friends asked him for something that could be of little use to him, and gave him that as a reason why he should grant his request, made answer, "*It is in these less and superfluous things that I am rich and happy.*" Thus desire of wealth, far from being a natural passion, is a foreign and adventitious one, arising from vulgar opinion.

Cato paid no regard to these complaints, but became still and rigid. *He cut off the pipes by which people conveyed water from the public fountains into their houses and gardens, and demolished all the buildings that projected out into the streets.* He lowered the price of public works, and farmed out the public at the highest rate they could bear. By these things he brought upon himself the hatred of vast numbers of people: that Titus Flaminius and his party attacked him, and prevailed with the annul the contracts he had made for repairing the temples and public buildings, as detrimental to the Nor they stop here, but incited the boldest of the Tribunes accuse him the people, and fine him two talents. They likewise opposed him very much in his building, the public charge, a hall below the senate-house by the forum which he finished notwithstanding, and called the *Perician* hall.

The people, however, appear to have been highly pleased with his behaviour in office. For when they erected his in temple of *Health*, they make no mention the pedestal his victories and triumph, but the inscription this : "*In honour of Cato, Censor, who, when the Roman degenerating into licentiousness, by good discipline and institutions restored it.*"

Before this, he laughed at those who fond of such honours, said, "They not aware that they plumed themselves upon

workmanship founders, statuarys, painters, Romans bore about a more glorious image of him their hearts." And those that expressed wonder, that many persons of had their statues, Cato none, said, *He rather it should be asked, why he had a statue, than why he not* short, of opinion that a good citizen should accept of due praise, unless it tended to the advantage of the community. Yet of all men the forward commend himself: for he us, that those who guilty of misdemeanours, and afterwards reprov'd for them, used say, "They excusable; they were not Catos:" and that such imitated some of his actions, but it awkwardly, called *left-handed Catos*. adds, "That the senate, in difficult danger- times, used to their eyes upon him, passengers in ships upon the pilot in a storm:" and "That when happened to be absent, they frequently put off the consideration of matters of importance." These particulars, indeed, confirmed by other writers; for *life, his eloquence, and his age, gave him great authority in Rome.*

He a good father, a good husband, and an excellent mist. And as he did not think the care of his family a mean and trifling thing, which required only a superficial attention, it may be of use to give account of his conduct in that respect.

chose his rather for than her fortune; persuaded, that though both the rich and the high-born have their pride, yet women of good families are more ashamed of y base and unworthy action, and more obedient to their husbands in every thing that good and honourable. He used to say, that they who beat their wives children, their sacrilegious hands on the most sacred things in the world; and that *he preferred the character of a good husband to that of a great senator.* And he admired nothing in Socrates than his living in an easy and quiet manner with an ill-tempered wife and stupid children. When had a son born, no business, however urgent, pt it related the public, could hinder from being present while his washed and swaddled the infant. *For she suckled it herself;* nay, often the breast to of her servants, to inspire them with brotherly regard for her

As soon as the dawn of understanding appeared, Cato took the office of schoolmaster to his son, though he had a slave named Chilo, who was a good grammarian, and taught several other children. But he tells us, he did choose that his son should be reprimanded by a slave, or pulled by ears, he happened be slow in learning; that he should indebted to so mean a person for his education. *was, therefore, himself his preceptor grammar, in law, and in necessary exercises.* For taught him only how dart, to fight hand to hand, and ride, but to box, endure and cold, and swim rapid rivers. farther acquaints us, that he histories for him with his hand, in large characters, that, without stir-

ring out of his father's house, he might gain a knowledge of the great actions of the ancient Romans and of the customs of his country. He was careful not to utter his word before his son, as he would have been in the presence of the vestal virgins; he ever went with him. A regard to decency this respect was indeed at that time general among the Romans. For sons-in-law avoided going with their fathers-in-law, choosing to appear naked before them; but afterwards the Greeks taught not to be scrupulous in uncovering themselves, they in their turn taught the Greeks to bathe even before the

While Cato was taking such excellent care in forming his son in virtue, he found him naturally ductile both in genius and inclination; but his body was too weak to undergo much hardship, his father obliged him to relax the severity of his discipline, and to indulge him a little in point of diet. Yet, with his constitution, he was an excellent soldier, and particularly distinguished himself under Paulus Æmilius in the battle against Perseus. On this occasion, his sword happening to be struck from his hand, the moisture of which prevented him from grasping it firmly, he turned to some of his companions with great concern, and begged their assistance in recovering it. He then rushed with them into the midst of the enemy, and having, with extraordinary efforts, cleared the place where the sword was lost, he found it, with much difficulty, under heaps of arms, and the bodies of friends, as well as enemies, piled upon each other. Paulus Æmilius admired this gallant action of the young man; and there is a letter still extant, written by Cato to his son, in which he extremely commends his high sense of honour expressed in the recovery of that sword. The young man afterwards married Tertia, daughter of Paulus Æmilius, and sister of young Scipio; the honour of which alliance was as much owing to his own merit as to his father's. Thus Cato's care in the education of his son answered its end and proposed.

He had many slaves which he purchased among the captives taken in war, always choosing the youngest and such as were capable of instruction, like whelps or colts that may be trained to pleasure. None of these slaves ever went into any other man's house except they were sent by Cato to his wife, and if any of them were asked what his master was doing, he always answered he did not know. For it was a rule with Cato to have his slaves either employed in the house or asleep, and he liked those best that slept the most kindly, believing that they were better tempered than others that had not the benefit of that refreshment, and fitter for any kind of business. And as he knew that slaves will stick to nothing to gratify their passion for idleness, he allowed them to have the company of female slaves, upon paying a certain price; under a strict prohibition of approaching any other

He was a young soldier, and as yet in low circumstances, he never found fault with anything that was served up at table, but thought it a shame to quarrel with a servant of

of his fame, like a mighty wind, filled the whole city. The port ran, that there was Greece a of astonishing powers, whose eloquence, more human, was and disarm the fiercest passions, and who had made so strong an impression upon the youth, that, forgetting all other pleasures and diversions, they quite possessed with an enthusiastic of philosophy.

The Romans delighted to it so; nor could they without pleasure behold their thus fondly receive Grecian literature, and follow these wonderful. But Cato, from the beginning, alarmed at it. no perceived this passion for the Grecian learning prevail, but afraid that the youth would their ambition that way, prefer the glory of eloquence that of deeds of arms. But when that the reputation of these philosophers rose higher, and their first speeches translated into Latin, by Caius Acilius, of great distinction, who earnestly begged favour of interpreting them, he had no longer patience, but resolved dismiss these philosophers upon decent and specious pretence.

He went, therefore, to senate, and complained of the magistrates for detaining so long such ambassadors those, who could persuade the people to whatever they pleased. "You ought," said he, "to determine their affair as speedily as possible, that returning their schools they bold forth to the Grecian youth, and that our young men may again give attention to the laws and the magistrates." Not that Cato was induced to this by any particular pique to Carneades, which some suppose have been case, but by his aversion to philosophy, and his making it a point to show contempt of polite studies and learning of the Greeks. Nay he scrupled not to affirm, "That Socrates himself a prating, seditious fellow, who used his endeavours tyrannize his country by abolishing its customs, and drawing the people to opinions contrary to laws." And, to ridicule the methods of Isocrates's teaching, said, "scholars grew old in learning their art, they intended exercise it in shades below, and to plead there." And dissuade from those studies, he told him a louder than could be expected from a of age, and it were, in oracular prophetic way, *That when the Romans thoroughly be the Grecian literature, they would empire of world.* But has shown the vanity that invidious assertion; for Rome higher pitch greatness, when she was most perfect in Grecian erudition, and attentive to manner of learning.¹

¹ Rome had indeed a very extensive empire in the Augustan age, but, at the same time, she her ancient constitution and her liberty. Not that the

ing of the Romans contributed to that loss, but their irreligion, their luxury, and corruption, occasioned it.

Nor ■■■ Cato an enemy to ■■ Grecian philosophers only, but looked upon the physicians ■■■ with ■■ suspicious eye. He ■■■ heard, it seems, of the ■■■ Hippocrates gave the king of Persia, when he ■■■ for him, ■■■ offered him a reward of many talents, "*I will never make ■■ of my art ■■ favour of barbarians who ■■ enemies ■■ Greeks.*" This he had said ■■■ oath ■■■ physicians had taken, and therefore he advised his son ■■ beware of ■■■ all. He added, that he himself ■■■ written ■■ little treatise, in which he ■■■ set down his method of cure,¹ and the regimen he prescribed, when any of his family fell sick; that he ■■■ recommended fasting, but allowed them herbs, with duck, pigeon, or hare: such kind of diet being light and suitable for ■■■ people, having no other inconvenience but ■■ making them dream; and that ■■■ these remedies ■■■ this regimen, ■■ preserved himself and ■■ family. But ■■ self-sufficiency in this respect ■■■ unpunished: for he lost both his wife and ■■■ He himself, indeed, by ■■ strong make and good habit of body, lasted long; ■■ that ■■■ in old age ■■ frequently indulged his inclination for the sex, and at an unseasonable time of life married ■■ young ■■■

After the death of his wife, he ■■■ his ■■ the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, the sister of Scipio; and continued ■■ widower, but had a young female slave that came privately to his bed. It could not, however, be long a ■■■ in a small house, with ■■ daughter-in-■■ in it; and ■■ day as the favourite slave passed by with a haughty and flaunting air, to go ■■ the Censor's chamber, young Cato gave her ■■ severe look, and turned his back upon her, but ■■ did not ■■ word. The old ■■■ was soon informed of this circumstance, and finding that this kind of commerce displeased his son and his daughter-in-law, he did not expostulate with them, ■■■ take the least notice. Next morning he went to the forum, according to custom, with his friends about ■■■; and ■■ he went along, he called aloud to one Salonius, who had been his secretary, and now was ■■ of his train, and asked him, "Whether ■■ had provided a husband ■■ his daughter?" Upon his answering, "That he had not, ■■ should without consulting his best friend;" Cato said, "Why then, I have found out ■■ very fit husband for her, ■■■ can bear with the disparity of age: for in other respects he ■■ unexceptionable, but he is very old." Salonius replying "That he ■■■ disposal of her entirely ■■ him, for she ■■■ under his protection, ■■ had no depend■■■ but upon ■■ bounty;" Cato said without farther ceremony, "Then I will be your son-in-law." The man at first was astonished at the proposal, as may easily be imagined; believing Cato past the time of life for marrying, and knowing himself far beneath an alliance with ■■ family that had been

¹ Cato's medical receipts, may be ■■■ in his treatise of country affairs, are rather very ■■■ very dangerous; and fasting, ■■■ exploded, is ■■■ them all. Duck, pigeon, and hare, ■■■

if ■■ may believe Plutarch, he ■■■ sick people on a light diet, are certainly the strongest and most indigestible kinds of ■■■

with consulate a triumph. when that Cato in earnest, the offer with joy, and the marriage contract signed as soon as they came to the

while they were in preparing for the nuptials, young Cato, taking relations with him, went and asked his father, "What he committed, that he going put a mother-in-law him?" Cato immediately answered, "Ask not such question, my ; for, instead of being offended, I have praise your whole conduct: I am only desirous of having such sons, and leaving such citizens my country." this answer is said have been given long before, by Pisistratus Athenian tyrant who, when he by a former wife already grown married a second, Timonassa of Argos, by to have two sons more, Jophon and Thessalus.

By this Cato had son, whom he called Salomius mother's father. As for his eldest son Cato, he died in his prætorship. father often makes mention of him in his writings brave worthy. He bore this loss with the moderation of a philosopher, applying himself with his usual activity to affairs of state. For he did not, like Lucius Lucullus afterwards, and Metellus Pius, think age an exemption from the service of the public, but considered that service as his indispensable duty; nor yet did as Scipio Africanus done, who finding himself attacked and opposed by envy in his course of glory, quitted the administration, and spent the remainder of his days in retirement and inaction. But, one told Dionysius, that the most honourable death was to die in possession of sovereign power, Cato esteemed that the most honourable old age, which spent in serving the commonwealth. The in which he passed his leisure hours, writing of books and tilling ground: of our having so many treatises on various subjects, and histories of his composing.¹

In his younger days he applied himself to agriculture, with a view to profit; for he used to say, he had only two ways of increasing income, labour and parsimony; but as he grew old, he regarded it only by of theory and amusement. He wrote a book concerning country affairs,² in which, among other things, he gives rules for making cakes and preserving fruit; for was desirous thought curious and particular every thing. kept a better table in country than in the town; for he always invited acquaintance in neighbourhood with him. With passed the time in cheerful conversation, making himself agreeable only to those of but to the young; for a thorough knowledge of the world, and had

¹ Dionysius, 160 orations. And more, that he left behind him, he wrote a treatise of military discipline, and books of antiquities; in two of these he treats of the foundation of the cities of Italy: the other five contained the Roman history,

particularly a narrative of the first and second Punic war.

² This is the only work of his that remains entire; of the rest we have only

either himself, heard from others, a variety of things that curious and entertaining. *He looked upon the table as one of the of forming friendships: and at his, the conversation generally turned upon praises of great and excellent among Romans;* as for bad and unworthy, no mention was made of them, for would allow in his company one word, either good or bad, he said of such kind of men.

The last service he is said to have done the public, destruction of Carthage. The younger Scipio indeed gave the finishing stroke that work, but it was undertaken chiefly by advice and the instance of Cato. The Carthaginians and Massinissa, king of Numidia, being with each other, Cato into Africa to inquire into the of quarrel. Massinissa from the first had been a friend to the Romans, and the Carthaginians admitted into their alliance after the great overthrow they received from Scipio the elder, but upon which deprived them of great part of their dominions, and imposed a heavy tribute.¹ When Cato arrived at Carthage, he found that city in the exhausted and humble condition which the Romans imagined, but full of men fit to bear arms, abounding in money, in arms, in warlike stores, and not a little elated in the thought of its being well provided. He concluded, therefore, that it for the Romans to endeavour to settle the points in dispute between the Numidians and Carthage; and that, they did not soon make themselves master of that city, which was their old enemy, and retained strong resentments of the usage she had lately received, and which had not only recovered herself after her losses, but prodigiously increased in wealth and power, they would be exposed to their former dangers. For this returned in all haste to Rome, where he informed the senate, "That the defeats and other misfortunes which had happened to the Carthaginians, much them their forces, cured them of their folly; and that, in all probability, instead of a weaker, they had made them a more and warlike enemy; that their war with the Numidians only a prelude to future combats with the Romans; and that the peace a name, for they considered only a suspension of arms, which they were willing to avail themselves of, till they a favourable opportunity to renew the war."

It is said, conclusion of his speech he shook lap of his gown, and purposely dropped some Libyan figs; and when he found senators admired them for their size and beauty, he told them, "country where they grew but three day's sail from Rome. what is a stronger instance of his enmity to Carthage, he gave his opinion in the senate upon any other point whatever, without adding these words DELANDA CAR-

¹ Scipio Africanus obliged the Carthaginians, at conclusion of the second Punic war, deliver up their fleet to the Romans, yield to Massinissa part of

Syphax's dominions, and pay the Romans 12,000 talents. Peace was made in the third year of Olympiad 141, 200 years before the Christian era.

THAGE, *Carthage should be destroyed.*" Scipio, surnamed Nasica, made it a point to maintain the contrary, and concluded all his speeches thus, "And my opinion is, that Carthage should be standing." It is very likely this great man, perceiving that the people such a pitch of insolence, be by it into the greatest (so in the pride of prosperity they could be restrained by the senate, but by their overgrown power were able to draw the government what way they pleased,) thought it Carthage remain keep them awe, moderate their presumption. For he Carthaginians were strong enough to conquer the Romans, and yet respectable enemy to be despised by them. On other hand, Carthage it dangerous, while the people thus inebriated giddy with power, to suffer a city which always been great, and which now grown sober and wise through misfortunes, to lie watching every advantage against them. It appeared him, therefore, the wisest course, to have all outward dangers removed from the commonwealth, that it might be leisure to guard against internal corruption.

Thus Cato occasioned the third and last against the Carthaginians. But soon it began to die, having first prophesied of the person that should put an end to it; who then a young man, and had only a tribune's command in the army, but was giving extraordinary proofs of his conduct and valour. The news of these exploits being brought to Rome, Cato cried out,

"He is the soul of council; the rest are shadows vain."

This Scipio soon confirmed by his actions.

Cato left by his second wife, surnamed Salonius, grandson by the son of his first wife, who died before him. Salonius died in his prætorship, leaving named Marcus, who be consul, and grandfather to Cato the Philosopher, best and illustrious man of his time.

PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

WHEN I first myself to the writing of these Lives it for sake of others, but I pursue that study for my own sake; availing myself of history of a mirror, from which I learn to adjust and regulate my conduct. For it is like living and conversing these illustrious men, when I invite as were, and receive them, after another, under my roof: when I consider how great and wonderful they were, and select from their actions the memorable and glorious.

To god: what greater pleasure? What HAPPIER ROAD TO VIRTUE?

¹ This is a mistake in Whistler; for Salonius was the grandfather, and Marcus the father of Cato of Utica.

Democritus **■** a position in his philosophy,¹ utterly **■** indeed, and leading **■** endless superstitions. That there **■** phantasms **■** images continually floating in **■** air, **■** propitious, and **■** unlucky, and advises us **■** **■** such may strike upon **■** senses, **■** **■** agreeable to and perfective of **■** nature, **■** **■** such **■** have **■** tendency to vice and error. For my part, instead of this, **■** fill my **■** with the sublime images of the best and greatest men, **■** my attention **■** history **■** biography; and if I **■** any blemish **■** **■** from other company which I am unavoidably engaged in, I correct and expel them, by calmly and dispassionately turning my thoughts to these excellent **■**. For the **■** purpose, I **■** put into your **■** the **■** of Timoleon **■** Corinthian, and **■** of Æmilius Paulus, men famous **■** only for their virtues, but their success; insomuch that they have left room **■** doubt, whether their great achievements **■** **■** more owing **■** their good fortune than their prudence.

■ writers agree, that the **■** family **■** one of the most ancient among the Roman nobility: and **■** asserted, **■** founder of it, who also **■** it **■** surname, **■** Mamercus² the son of Pythagoras the philosopher,³ who, for the peculiar charms and gracefulness of his elocution, was **■** Æmilius; such, **■** least, is the opinion of those who say that Numa **■** educated under Pythagoras.

Those of this family that distinguished themselves⁴ found their attachment to virtue generally **■** with success. And notwithstanding the ill fortune of Lucius Paulus **■** Cannæ, he showed on that occasion both his prudence and his valour. For, when he could not dissuade his colleague from fighting, he joined him in the combat, though much against his will, but did not partake with him in his flight: **■** **■** contrary, when he who plunged them in the danger deserted the field, Paulus stood his ground, **■** **■** bravely amidst the enemy, with his sword in his hand.

This Paulus had **■** daughter named Æmilia, who **■** married **■** Scipio **■** Great, and a son called Paulus, whose history I **■** now writing.

At the time **■** made **■** appearance in the world, Rome abounded in men **■** **■** celebrated for their virtues and other excellent accomplishments;⁵ and even **■** these Æmilius made a distin-

¹ Democritus held, that visible objects produced their image in the ambient air, which image produced a second, and the second a third still less than the former, and so on till the last produced its counterpart in the eye. This he supposed the process of the act of vision. But he went on to what is infinitely more absurd. He maintained that thought was formed, according as those images struck upon the imagination; that of these there were **■** and some evil; **■** the good and virtuous thoughts in us, and the evil the contrary.

² See the life of Numa.

³ He is called Pythagoras the philosopher, to distinguish him from Pythagoras the famed wrestler.

⁴ From Lucius Æmilius, who was consul in the year of Rome 276, and overcame the Volscians, to Lucius Paulus, who was father to Paulus Æmilius, and who fell at Cannæ, in the year of Rome 637, there were many of these Æmiliis renowned for **■** victories and triumphs.

⁵ In that period we find the Sempronii, the Albiti, the Fabii Maximi, the Marcelli, **■** Scipios, the Fulvii, Sulpicii, Cethegi, Metelli, and other great and excellent men.

gu figure, without pursuing the same studies, or setting out in track, with the young nobility of that age. For he exercise himself in pleading causes, could salute, to solicit, people, which the method that men who aimed at popularity. Not but that talents from nature acquit himself in either of respects, but he reckoned the honour that flows from valour, from justice, probity, preferable to both; and in these virtues he surpassed all the young of his time.

The first of the great offices of state for which was a candidate, that of *Edile*, as he carried it against twelve competitors, who, are told, afterwards consuls. And when appointed one of the *Augurs*, whom the Romans employ in inspection and care of divination by the flight of birds and by prodigies in the air, studied attentively the usages of his country, acquainted himself perfectly with the ancient ceremonies of religion, th what before only considered as an honour, and sought for on of the authority annexed to it, appeared in hands one of the principal arts. Thus he confirmed definition which is given by some philosophers, *That religion is the science of worshipping the gods*. He did every thing with and application, he laid aside all other concerns while he attended to this, and made not the least omission or innovation, but disputed with colleagues about the smallest article, and insisted, that though the Deity might be supposed to be merciful, willing overlook some neglect, yet it dangerous for to connive at and pass by such things. For ever began his attempts against government with an crime; and the relaxing the smallest matters, breaks down the fences of the greatest.

Nor less in requiring and observing the Roman military discipline. did not study to popular in command, nor endeavour, like the generality, to make one commission the foundation for another, by humouring and indulging the soldiery. a priest instructs the initiated with the sacred monies, so explained those that under him the rules and of war, and being inexorable, the time, those transgressed them, he re-established his country in its former glory. Indeed, with him, the beating of enemy was a matter of much less account, than the bringing of countrymen strict discipline; one seeming to be the necessary consequence the other.

During the which the Romans engaged in with Antiochus Great, in the east, and in which their experi-

¹ Under pretence that the auspices were favourable or otherwise, the *Augurs* had it in their power to promote or put a stop to any public affair whatever.

² The Roman soldiers were, at the same time, citizens, who had votes for the great employments, both civil and military.

³ The war between the Romans

king of Syria, began about the year of Rome 581, 26 years after the death of Cæsar.

⁴ The consul Glabrio, and after him the two *Scipios*; the sister of whom was constant as an enemy to his brother. Liv. l. 38.

enced officers [] employed, another broke [] [] [] There [] a general revolt in Spain;¹ [] [] Æmilius was sent, not with six *legions* only, [] other *prætors*, but with twice the number; which seemed to raise his dignity to [] equality with the consular. He beat the barbarians in two pitched battles,² and killed 30,000 of them; which [] appears to have been owing [] generalship in choosing his ground, and attacking the enemy while they [] passing a river; for by these [] his army gained [] easy victory. [] made himself master of 250 cities, which voluntarily opened their gates; and having established peace throughout the province, and secured its allegiance, he returned [] Rome, [] a *drachma* richer than he went [] He never, indeed, was desirous [] enrich himself, but lived in a generous [] on [] own estate, which [] far from being large, that after [] death, [] hardly sufficient [] his wife's dowry.

[] first wife [] Papiria, the daughter of Papirius Maso, a man of consular dignity. After he had lived with her a long time in wedlock he divorced her, though she [] brought him very fine children; for she [] mother to [] illustrious Scipio and to Fabius Maximus. History does not acquaint us with the [] of [] separation; but with respect [] divorces [] general, the account which a certain Roman, who put [] his wife, gave of his [] case, seems to [] just one. When his friends remonstrated, and asked him, *Was she not chaste? Was she [] fair? Was she not fruitful? he held out his shoe, and said, Is it not handsome? Is it not new? yet none knows where it wrings him, but he that [] it.* Certain it is, that men usually repudiate their wives for great and visible faults; yet sometimes also a peevishness of temper [] in compliance [] manners, small and frequent distastes, though not discerned by the world, produce [] incurable aversions in a married life.³

Æmilius, thus separated from Papiria, married a second wife, by

¹ Spain had been reduced by Scipio Nasica.

² Livy, xxvii. 57, speaks only of one battle, in which Paulus Æmilius forced the entrenchments of the Spaniards, killed 18,000 of them, and made 300 prisoners.

³ Dr. Robertson mentions the frequency of divorces as one of the necessary reasons for introducing the Christian religion at that period of time when it was published to the world. "Divorces," says he, "on very slight pretences, were permitted both by the Greek and Roman legislators. And though the pure manners of those republics restrained for some time the operation of such a pernicious institution; though the virtue of private persons seldom abused the indulgence that the legislator allowed them, yet no sooner had the establishment of arbitrary power and the progress of luxury vitiated the taste of men, than the law with regard to divorces was found to be amongst the worst corruptions that prevailed in that abandoned age. The facility

of separations rendered married persons careless of practising or obtaining those virtues which render domestic life easy and delightful. The education of their children, as the parents were not mutually endeared or inseparably connected, was generally disregarded, as each parent considered it but a partial care, which might with equal justice devolve on the other. Marriage, instead of restraining, added to the violence of irregular desire, and under a legal title became the vilest and most shameful prostitution. From all these causes the marriage state fell into disreputation and contempt, and it became necessary to force men by penal laws into a society where they expected no secure or lasting happiness. Among the Romans domestic corruption grew of a sudden to an incredible height. And perhaps in the history of mankind we can find no parallel to the undiagnosed impurity and licentiousness of that age. It was in good time therefore, &c. &c."

whom he had also two . . . These he brought up in his own house ; the . . . Papiria being adopted . . . the greatest . . . noble families in Rome, the elder by . . . Maximus, who was five times consul, and . . . younger by his cousin-german, . . . son of Scipio Africanus, . . . gave . . . the name of Scipio. One of . . . daughters . . . married to the . . . of Cato, and the other to Ælius Tubero, . . . of superior integrity, and who, of . . . the Romans, knew best how . . . bear poverty. There . . . no less than sixteen of . . . Ælian family . . . name, who had only . . . small house, and . . . farm amongst them ; . . . in this house they all lived, with their wives and many children. Here dwelt . . . daughter of Æmilius, who had been twice consul, . . . had triumphed twice, . . . of her husband's poverty, but admiring that virtue which kept him poor. Very different is the behaviour of brothers and other near relations in these days ; who, if their possessions be not separated by . . . extensive countries, . . . least . . . and bulwarks, are perpetually . . . variance about them. So much instruction does history . . . the consideration of those who are willing to profit by it.

When Æmilius . . . created consul,¹ he . . . upon . . . expedition against the Ligurians, whose country lies . . . the foot of the Alps, and who are also called Ligustines : a bold and martial people who learned the . . . of the Romans, by . . . of their vicinity. For they dwelt in . . . extremities of Italy, bordering upon that part of the Alps which is washed by the Tuscan Sea, just opposite to Africa, and were mixed with the Gauls and Spaniards, who inhabited . . . At that time they had likewise . . . strength at sea, and their corsairs plundered and destroyed the merchant ships as far . . . the pillars of Hercules. They had an army of 40,000 men to receive Æmilius, who . . . with but 8000 at the most. He engaged them, however, though five times his number, routed them entirely, and shut . . . up within their walled towns. When they were in these circumstances, he offered them reasonable and moderate . . . For the Romans did not choose utterly to cut . . . the people of Liguria, whom they considered as a bulwark against . . . Gauls, who were always hovering . . . Italy. The Ligurians, confiding in Æmilius, delivered up their ships and their towns. He only razed the fortifications and then delivered the cities . . . them again, but he carried . . . their shipping, leaving them . . . a vessel bigger than those with three banks of oars ; and he . . . liberty . . . number of prisoners whom they had made both at . . . and land, . . . well . . . as strangers.

Such . . . memorable actions of his first consulship. After which . . . often expressed his desire of being appointed . . . high office, and even stood candidate for it ; but, . . . with . . . repulse, he solicited it no more. Instead of that, . . . applied himself to . . . discharge of . . . function as *ædile*, and . . . the education of . . . sons, . . . only . . . such arts . . . had been taught in Rome, and those that he . . . learned himself, but . . . in . . .

¹ . . . was the year following that he went against the Ligurians.

genteeler arts of Greece. To [] purpose he [] only entertained masters who could teach them grammar, logic, and rhetoric, but sculpture also and painting, together with such [] skilled in breaking [] teaching horses and dogs, and [] instruct them in riding and hunting. When no public affairs hindered him, [] himself always attended their studies and exercises. In short, [] the [] indulgent parent in Rome.

As to [] public affairs, the Romans [] then engaged in [] with Perseus¹ king of the Macedonians, and they imputed [] either [] the incapacity or cowardice of their generals² that the advantage [] on the enemy's side. For they who had forced Antiochus the Great to quit the rest of Asia,³ driven him beyond mount Taurus, confined him [] Syria, and made him think himself happy if he could purchase his peace with 15,000 talents; ⁴ they who had lately vanquished king Philip [] Thessaly,⁵ and delivered the Greeks from the Macedonian yoke; in short, they who had subdued Hannibal, [] whom [] king could be compared either for valour [] power, thought it [] intolerable thing to be obliged [] contend with Perseus upon equal terms, [] if he could be [] adversary able to cope with them, who only brought into the field the poor remains of his father's routed forces. In this, however, the Romans [] deceived; for they knew not that [] ip, after his defeat, had raised [] much more numerous and better disciplined army, than he had before. It may not be amiss [] explain this in a few words, beginning at the fountain head. Antigonus,⁶ the [] powerful among the generals and successors of Alexander, having gained for himself [] and his descendants the title of king, had a [] named Demetrius, who [] father to Antigonus, surnamed *Gonatus*. *Gonatus* had a son named Demetrius, who, after a short reign, left [] young son called *Philip*. The Macedonian nobility, dreading the confusion often consequent upon [] minority, set up Antigonus, cousin [] [] deceased king, and gave him his widow, the mother of Philip, [] wife. At first they made him only regent and general, but afterwards finding that [] [] a moderate and public-spirited man, they declared him king. He it was that had the [] of *Dodon*,⁷ because he [] always promising, but [] performed what he promised. After him, Philip mounted the throne, and though yet but a youth, [] showed himself equal to the greatest of kings, [] that it [] believed that he would restore the crown of Macedon []

¹ This [] Macedonian war with Perses began in the year of Rome 202, 100 years before the Christian era.

² Those generals were P. Licinius Crassus, after him A. Hortilius Mancinus, and then Q. Martius Philippus, who dragged the war heavily on during the three years of their consulship.

³ Seventeen years before.

⁴ Livy says 12,000, which were [] paid in twelve years, by 1,000 [] a year.

⁵ This service was performed by Quintus

Flamininus, who defeated Philip in Thessaly, killed 5,000 of his men upon the spot, [] 5,000 prisoners, and after his victory [] proclamation to be made by a herald, at the [] that Greece was free.

⁶ This Antigonus [] Eumenes, and took Babylon from Seleucus; and when his son Demetrius had overthrown [] enemy's fleet at Cyprus, he, the first of all Alexander's successors, assumed to wear a diadem, and [] the title of king.

⁷ *Dodon* signifies well give.

ancient dignity, the only that could stop the progress of the Roman power which now extending itself over all the world. being beaten at Scotusa by Titus Flaminius, his courage sank for present, and promising to receive such as Romans impose, he was glad to come to a moderate fine. recollecting himself afterwards, could brook the dishonour. To reign by the courtesy of Romans, appeared him more suitable a slave, who nothing but pleasures, than a man who has any dignity sentiment, and therefore he turned his thoughts to war, but made preparations with great privacy and caution. For suffering the that near the great roads and by the sea, to run to decay, become half desolate, in order that he might be contempt by the enemy, he collected a great force in the higher provinces; and filling places, the towns, and castles, with arms, money, and men, fit for service, without making any show of war, had his troops always in readiness for it, like so many wrestlers trained and exercised in For he had in his arsenal for 30,000 men, in his garrisons eight millions of measures of wheat, and money in his coffers to defray the charge of maintaining 10,000 mercenaries for ten years to defend his country. But he had not the satisfaction of putting these designs in execution; for he died grief and a broken heart, on discovering that he had unjustly put Demetrius, his worthy son, to death,¹ in consequence of an accusation preferred by his other son, Perseus.

Perseus, who survived him, inherited, together with the crown, his father's enmity to the Romans; but he was not equal to such a burden, account of the littleness of his capacity and the meanness of his manners: avarice being principal of the passions that reigned in his distempered heart. It is said, he was not the son of Philip, but that the wife of that prince took him, soon born, from his mother, who a sempstress of Argos, named Gnathænia, and passed him upon her husband her own. And the chief of compassing the death of his brother seemed have been his fear that the royal house, having a lawful heir, might prove him to be supposititious. But though of such an abject and ungenerous disposition, yet, the prosperous situation of his affairs, he engaged with the Romans, and maintained the conflict a long while, repulsing several of their fleets and armies, commanded by of consular dignity, and beating of them. Publius Licinius the first who invaded Macedonia, and him defeated in engagement of cavalry,² killed 2,500 of his best men, and took 600 prisoners. He surprised the Roman fleet which lay anchor at Ormeum, took twenty of their store-ships, sunk the loaded with

¹ This story is finely embellished in Dr. Young's tragedy of *The Persians*.

² Livy has given us a description of this action at the end of his forty-second book. Perseus offered peace to those he had

himself overthrown, the Romans refused it: they made it a rule, indeed, never to make peace when beaten. The rule proved a wise one for that people, but can never be universally adopted.

wheat, and made himself master, besides, of four galleys which had each five benches of oars. He fought also another battle, by which he drove back the consul Hostilius, who was attempting to recover the kingdom by Elimia; and when the consul was general, stealing in by the way of Thessaly, he presented himself to him, but the Roman consul did not choose to stand against him, if he was sufficiently employ him, were his enemy respectable enough, he was upon an expedition against the Dardanians, in which he cut in pieces 10,000 of them, and brought much booty. At the same time he privately solicited the king, who was near the Danube, and who was called Burebista. These were a warlike people, strong in cavalry. He tried the Illyrians too, hoping to bring them to join him by the offer of Gentius their king; and he reported that the barbarians had taken money, under promise of making an inroad into Italy, by the Lower Gaul along the coast of the Adriatic.¹

When this news was brought to Rome, the people thought proper to lay aside all regard to interest and solicitation in the choice of their generals, and to call to the command one of understanding, for the direction of great affairs. Such was Paulus Æmilius, who advanced in years indeed (for he was about threescore), but still in his full strength, and surrounded with young sons, and sons-in-law, and a number of other considerable relations and friends, who all persuaded him to listen to the people that called him to the consulship. At first he received the offer of the citizens very coldly, though they were so far from to court and even to entreat him; for he was now no longer ambitious of that honour; but as they daily attended at his gate and loudly called upon him to make his appearance in the forum, he was at length prevailed upon. When he put himself among the candidates, he looked not like a man who sued for the consulship, but like a man who brought success along with him; and when, at the request of the citizens, he went down into the *Campus Martius*, they all received him with so entire a confidence and such a cordial regard, that upon their creating him consul the second time, they would not suffer him to be consul for the provinces,² as usual, but voted him immediately the direction of the war in Macedonia. It was said, that after the people had appointed him commander-in-chief against Persens, and conducted him home in a very splendid manner, he found his daughter Tertia, who was yet but a child, in tears. Upon he took her in his arms, and asked her "Why she wept?" The girl, embracing and kissing him, said, "Know you then, father, Persens is dead?" meaning a dog of that name, which she had brought up. To which he replied, "'Tis a lucky inci-

¹ Paulus practised also with Eumenes king of Bithynia, and caused representations to be made to Antiochus king of Syria, that the Romans were equally enemies to all kings: but Eumenes offered 1,600 talents, a stop was put to the

negotiation. The very treating, however, with Persens, occasioned an inveterate hatred between the Romans and their old friend. It was said that he was of no service to Persens.

² Livy says the contrary.

dent, child, I accept the omen." particular related by Cicero, Treatise *Divination*.

for those were appointed to the consulship, to make their acknowledgments the people in an agreeable speech from the *rostrum*. having assembled the citizens on occasion, told them, "He applied for his former p, because he wanted a command; but this, they had applied him, because they wanted a commander; and therefore, present, he did not hold himself obliged them. they could have the better directed by another, would readily quit the employment; but if they placed their confidence in him, expected they would not interfere with orders, or propagate reports, but provide in silence what necessary for the war: for, they wanted to command their commanders, their expeditions would be more ridiculous than ever." It easy express how much this speech procured him from the citizens, and high expectations it produced of the event. They rejoiced that they had passed by the smooth-tongued candidates, made choice of a general who had so much freedom of speech and such dignity of manner. Thus the Romans submitted, like vants, reason and virtue, in order that they might day rule, and become of the world.

That Paulus Æmilius, when went upon the Macedonian expedition, had a prosperous voyage and journey, and arrived with speed and safety in the camp, I impute to his good fortune; but when I consider how the war was conducted, and see that the greatness of his courage, the excellence of his counsels, the attachment of his friends, his presence of mind, and happiness in expedients times of danger, all contributed to his success, I cannot place great and distinguished actions any account but Indeed, the avarice of Perseus may possibly be looked upon a fortunate circumstance for Æmilius; since it blasted and ruined great preparations and elevated hopes of the Macedonians, by a regard to money. For the Bastarnæ his request, with a body of 10,000 horse,¹ each which had a foot soldier by his side, and they all fought for hire; men they were that knew not how to till the ground, to cattle, or navigate ships, but whose sole profession and employment fight and to conquer. When these pitched their in Medica, and mingled with the king's forces, who beheld them tall in their persons, ready beyond expression at their exercises, lofty and full of against the enemy, the Macedonians inspired with

¹ Livy (xlv. 26) has well described this horseman and his foot soldiers. He says, "There 10,000 horse, and as many foot who kept pace with the horse, and when any of the cavalry were unhorsed, they mounted and went into the ranks." They were same people with those described by Caesar in the first book of his *Commentaries*, where he is

giving an account of Ariovistus's army. As soon as Perseus had intelligence of the approach of the Bastarnæ, he gave his congratulations Clondius their king. Clondius made answer, that the Gauls would not march a step farther without seeing Perseus in his service and ill policy refused to advance.

fresh rage, and a strong opinion, the Romans would stand against these mercenaries, but he their looks and at their strange and astonishing motions.

After Perseus had _____ people with such spirits _____ hopes, the barbarians demanded of _____ 1000 pieces of gold for every officer ; but the thoughts of parting with _____ almost turned _____ brain, and in the narrowness of _____ heart, _____ refused it, _____ broke off the alliance ; as if he had _____ been _____ with the Romans, but _____ steward for them, who _____ give _____ of _____ expenses _____ those whom he _____ acting against. At _____ same time _____ example of the enemy pointed _____ to him better things, for, besides their other preparations, they had 100,000 men collected and ready for their use, and yet he having _____ oppose _____ considerable _____ force, and _____ was maintained _____ an extraordinary expense, counted his gold and _____ bags, _____ much afraid _____ touch them _____ if they had belonged _____ . And yet he was _____ descended from any Lydian or Phœnician merchant, but allied to Alexander and Philip, whose maxim _____ was _____ *procure empire with money, and not money by empire*, and who, by pursuing that maxim, conquered the world. For it _____ a common saying, "That it _____ not Philip, but Philip's gold, that took the cities of Greece." As for Alexander, when he _____ upon the Indian expedition, and _____ the Macedonians dragging after them _____ heavy and unwieldy load of Persian wealth, _____ first set fire to the royal carriages, and then persuaded the _____ do the _____ to theirs, that they might _____ forward to the war, light and unencumbered. Whereas Perseus, though he and his children, and his kingdom, overflowed with wealth, would _____ purchase his preservation _____ the expense of a small part of it, but _____ carried a wealthy captive to Rome, and showed that people what immense sums _____ had saved and laid _____ for them.

Nay, ■ had not only deceived and ■ the Gauls, but also imposed upon Gentius king of the Illyrians, ■ he prevailed with ■ join him, in consideration of ■ subsidy of 300 talents. ■ went ■ far ■ order the money ■ be counted before that prince's envoys, and ■ them to put their seal upon it. Gentius, thinking his demands ■ answered, in violation of all the laws of honour and justice, seized and imprisoned the Roman ambassadors who were ■ court. Perseus now concluded that there ■ no need ■ money to draw his ally into the war, since ■ had

1. I agree with the editor of the former English translation, that the original is extremely corrupted and very difficult to be [redacted] and that it seems improbable that the Romans should have an army of 100,000 men in Macedonia. But the improbability lessens, if we consider that [redacted] applied [redacted] this occasion [redacted] the [redacted] especially Achaeans, [redacted] [redacted] they could spare, and if we [redacted] in [redacted] [redacted] the Roman [redacted] [redacted] judged [redacted]

just before the battle, expressed his apprehensions from the enemy's superiority in numbers; [redacted] it was true that he had come to depend upon but the Romans, who were comparatively few. As for his Grecian allies, he could not place much confidence in them, because it was their interest to [redacted] the kingdom of Macedon [redacted] and, in fact, when that [redacted] were set up in [redacted] and the shadow of liberty, which remained to it, was lost.

into milk ; the cold and springy places of ground have not a quantity of water hid within them, which, as from reservoirs always full, can be sufficient to supply large streams and rivers ; but by compressing and condensing the vapours and the air, they convert them into water. And such places being opened, that element freely, just as the breasts of do milk from their being suckled, by compressing and liquefying the vapour ; whereas the earth that remains idle and undug cannot produce any water, because it wants that motion which alone is the true cause of it.

But those that teach this doctrine, give occasion to the sceptical to observe, that by parity of reason there is blood in animals, but that the wound produces it, by change in the flesh and spirits, which that impression renders fluid. Besides, that doctrine is refuted by those who, digging deep in the earth to undermine some fortifications, to search for metals, with deep rivers, collected by little and little, which would be the case, if they produced the instant the earth opened, but rushing upon them once in great abundance. And often happens upon the breaking of a great rock, that a quantity of water issues out, which as suddenly ceases.

Æmilius sat still for some days, and it is said that there never were two great armies so near each other, that remained so quiet. But trying and considering everything, he got information that there one way only left unguarded, which lay through Perrhæbia, by Pythium and Petra ; and conceiving greater hope from the defenceless condition of the place, than fear from rugged and difficult appearance, he ordered the matter to be considered in council.

Scipio, surnamed Nasica, son-in-law to Scipio Africanus, who afterwards was a leading man in the senate, the first that offered to head the troops in taking this circuit come at the enemy. And after him, Fabius Maximus, the eldest of Æmilius, though yet but a youth, expressed his readiness undertake the enterprise. Æmilius, delighted with this circumstance, gave them a detachment, not so large indeed Polybius gives account of, but the number that Nasica mentions in a short letter wherein describes this action a certain king. They had 3000 Italians, who Romans, and 5000 besides, who posed the left wing. To these Nasica added horse, and Thracians and Cretans intermixed, who of the troops of Harpalus.

With this detachment he began to march towards the sea, and encamped Heracleum,¹ as he intended to sail round, and upon the enemy's camp behind ; but when his soldiers had supped, and night on, he explained to the officers his real design, and directed them a different route. Pursuing this, without loss of time, he arrived at Pythium, where he ordered

¹ The consul gave out that they were on the fleet, which, under the command of the pector, lay

upon the coast, in order to waste the maritime parts of Macedonia, and so to draw Perseus to his camp.

men [REDACTED] rest. At this place Olympus [REDACTED] 10 furlongs [REDACTED] 96 [REDACTED] height, as [REDACTED] is signified in the inscription made by Xenagoras [REDACTED] of Eumelus, the man that measured it. The geometricians, indeed, affirm, [REDACTED] there [REDACTED] mountain in [REDACTED] world [REDACTED] furlongs high, nor sea above [REDACTED] depth, yet it [REDACTED] that Xenagoras did [REDACTED] take the height in a careless manner, but regularly, [REDACTED] with proper instruments.

Nasica passed the night there. Perseus, [REDACTED] his part, seeing [REDACTED] lie quiet in his camp, had not [REDACTED] least thought of the dangers that [REDACTED] him; but a Cretan deserter who slipped from Scipio by the way, [REDACTED] informed him of the circuit [REDACTED] Romans [REDACTED] taking in order [REDACTED] surprise him. This news put him in great confusion, yet he did [REDACTED] his camp; he only sent 10,000 foreign mercenaries and 2000 Macedonians under Milo, [REDACTED] orders [REDACTED] possess themselves of the heights with [REDACTED] possible [REDACTED] pedition. Polybius relates [REDACTED] the Romans [REDACTED] upon [REDACTED] while they [REDACTED] asleep, but Nasica tells [REDACTED] there was a sharp and dangerous conflict for the heights; that he himself killed a Thracian mercenary who engaged him, by piercing him through the breast with [REDACTED] spear; and that the enemy being routed, and Milo put to a shameful flight without his arms, and in his under garment only, he pursued them without any sort of hazard, and led [REDACTED] party down into the plain. Perseus, terrified at this disaster, and disappointed [REDACTED] his hopes, decamped and retired. Yet he was under a necessity of stopping before Pydna, and risking a battle, if [REDACTED] did not choose to divide his army to garrison his towns,¹ and there expect the enemy, who, when once entered into his country, could not be driven [REDACTED] without great slaughter and bloodshed.

His friends represented to him, that his army [REDACTED] still superior in numbers, and that they would fight with great resolution in defence of their wives and children, and in sight of their king, who [REDACTED] a partner in their danger. Encouraged by this representation, [REDACTED] fixed [REDACTED] camp there; he prepared for battle, viewed [REDACTED] country, and assigned each officer his post, as intending to [REDACTED] the Romans when they [REDACTED] off their march. The field where [REDACTED] encamped [REDACTED] fit for the phalanx, which required plain and [REDACTED] ground [REDACTED] act in; near it [REDACTED] a chain of little hills, proper for the light-armed to [REDACTED] to, and [REDACTED] wheel about from the attack; and through the middle ran the rivers Aeson and Leucus, which, though [REDACTED] very deep, because [REDACTED] the latter end of summer, [REDACTED] likely [REDACTED] give [REDACTED] Romans some trouble.

Æmilius having joined Nasica, marched in good order against [REDACTED] enemy. [REDACTED] he saw the disposition and number of [REDACTED] forces, [REDACTED] astonished, [REDACTED] stood still to consider what was proper [REDACTED] done. Hereupon [REDACTED] young officers, eager for [REDACTED]

¹ His best friends advised him to garrison his strongest cities with his best troops, and [REDACTED] lengthen out the [REDACTED] perience having shown that the [REDACTED] plans were [REDACTED] [REDACTED] cities

than the Romans were to take [REDACTED]; but this opinion the king rejected [REDACTED] this cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he chose for his residence might be first besieged.

engagement, and particularly Nasica, flushed with his success ■ Mount Olympus, pressed up ■ him, and begged of him ■ them forward without delay. ■ only smiled and said, "My friend, ■ I ■ of your ■ I ■ certainly do so : ■ the many victories I have gained have made me observe the ■ ■ ■ vanquished, and forbid me ■ give battle immediately after a march to an army well drawn up, and every way prepared."

Then ■ ordered the foremost ranks, who ■ in sight of ■ enemy, ■ present ■ front, ■ if they ■ ready ■ ■ the rear, in the meantime, to mark out ■ camp, and throw up entrenchments ; after which, he made the battalions wheel off by degrees, beginning with those next the soldiers ■ work, so that their disposition was insensibly changed, and his whole army encamped without noise.

When they had ■ ■, and were thinking of nothing but going to rest, ■ ■ sudden the moon, which ■ then ■ full, and very high, began ■ be darkened, and after changing into various colours, ■ ■ last totally eclipsed.¹ The Romans, according ■ their custom, made a great noise by striking upon vessels of brass and held up lighted faggots and torches in the air, in order to recall her light ; but the Macedonians ■ no such thing ; horror and astonishment seized their whole camp, and a whisper passed among the multitude, that ■ appearance portended the fall of the king. ■ for Æmilius, he was not entirely unacquainted with this matter ; he had heard of the ecliptic inequalities which bring the moon, at certain periods, under the shadow of the earth, and darken her, till she ■ passed that quarter of obscurity, and receives light from the sun again. Nevertheless, as he was wont ■ ascribe most events to the Deity, ■ a religious observer of sacrifices and of the art of divination, he offered up to the ■ eleven heifers, ■ ■ ■ her regain her former lustre. At break of day, ■ also sacrificed ■ ■ Hercules, ■ the number of twenty, without any auspicious sign ; but in the twenty-first the desired tokens appeared, and ■ announced victory to ■ troops, provided they stood upon the defensive.² At the ■ time he vowed ■ hecatomb and ■ games in honour of that god, and then commanded the officers to put ■ army in order of battle ; staying, however, till ■ sun should decline, and get round to the west, lest, if they ■ action in the morning, ■ should dazzle the eyes of ■

1 Livy ■ ■ ■ Salpithes Gallus, ■ ■ ■ tribunes, foretold this eclipse : first to the consul and then with his leave to the army, whereby that terror which eclipses we ■ went to breed in ignorant minds, was entirely taken off, and the soldiers more and more disposed to confide in officers of so great wisdom, and of such general knowledge.

2 Here we see Æmilius armed himself of augury, to bring his troops the more readily to comply with what he knew was most prudent. — He was sensible of

their eagerness and impetuosity, but he was sensible that the Macedonians that coolness and calm valour were more ■ ■ to be exerted against the Macedonian phalanx, which was not ■ in courage and discipline to the Romans, and therefore he told them, ■ the gods enjoined them to ■ ■ defensive, if they ■ to ■ ■. Another ■ ■ why Æmilius ■ ■ ■ was, as Plutarch tells us, because the morning sun was full in the ■ of his midday.

soldiers, he ■ down ■ the ■ in his tent, which ■ open towards ■ enemy's camp.

■ say, that towards evening he availed himself of ■ artifice, ■ the enemy begin the fight. It seems ■ turned ■ horse loose without ■ bridle, and sent ■ Romans ■ catch him, who ■ while they were pursuing him, ■ so ■ gagement began. Others say, that the Thracians, commanded by ■ Alexander, attacked ■ Roman convoy, ■ 700 Ligurians making up ■ its assistance, ■ sharp skirmish ensued, and that larger reinforcements being ■ to both parties, ■ the main bodies ■ engaged. Æmilius, ■ a wise pilot, foreseeing, by the agitation of both armies, the violence of the impending storm, ■ of his tent, passed through the ranks, and encouraged his men. In the meantime, Nasica, who had rode up to the place where the skirmish began, saw ■ whole of the enemy's army advancing ■ charge.

First of all marched the Thracians, whose very aspect struck the beholders ■. They were men of a prodigious size; ■ shields ■ white and glistening; their ■ black, their legs armed with greaves: and as they moved, their long pikes, heavy-shod with iron, shook on their right shoulders. Next came the mercenaries, variously armed, according to the ■ of their respective countries: with these were mixed the Pæonians. In the third place moved forward ■ battalions of Macedon, the flower of its youth and the bravest of its ■ their ■ purple ■ and gilded arms, made a splendid appearance. As these took their posts, the *Chalcaspides* moved out of the ■; the fields gleamed with the polished steel and the brazen shields which they bore, and the mountains re-echoed to their cheers. In this order they advanced, and that with so much boldness and speed, that the first of their slain (the light-armed) fell only two furlongs from ■ Roman camp.

As ■ as the attack ■ begun, Æmilius, advancing ■ first ranks, found that ■ foremost of the Macedonians had struck the heads of their pikes into the shields of the Romans, ■ that it ■ impossible ■ his ■ reach their adversaries with their swords. And when ■ the rest of the Macedonians take their bucklers from their shoulders, join them close together, and with ■ motion present their pikes against his legions, the strength of such ■ rampart, and ■ formidable appearance of such ■ front, struck him with ■ and amazement. ■ never, indeed, ■ a ■ dread-■ spectacle, ■ he often mentioned afterwards the impression ■ made upon him. However, he took ■ to show a pleasant and cheerful ■ to ■ men, and ■ rode about without either ■ breastplate. But the king of Macedon, as Polybius tells us, as soon as the engagement was begun, gave ■ fears, ■ withdrew into the town, under p ■ of sacrificing ■ Hercules; a god that accepts not the timid offerings of cowards, nor favours ■ unjust ■. And surely it ■ just, that ■ shoots, should bear away ■ prize; ■ who ■

post, should [REDACTED]; that he who is despicably indolent, should be successful; or that [REDACTED] had man should be happy. But the god attended the prayers of Æmilius; for he begged for victory and [REDACTED] with his sword in his hand, and fought while [REDACTED] implored Divine aid. Yet [REDACTED] Posidonius,¹ who says [REDACTED] lived in those times, [REDACTED] present [REDACTED] that action, in the history of Perseus, which [REDACTED] in several books, affirms, that it [REDACTED] out of cowardice, [REDACTED] under pretence of offering sacrifice that [REDACTED] quitted the field, but because, the day before the fight, he received a hurt [REDACTED] leg, [REDACTED] the kick of a horse; that when the battle came on, though very much indisposed, and dissuaded by his friends, he commanded [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] horses to be brought, mounted him, and charged, without [REDACTED] breastplate, at the head of the phalanx; and that, amidst the shower of missive weapons of all kinds, he [REDACTED] struck with [REDACTED] javelin of iron, [REDACTED] indeed with the point, but it glanced [REDACTED] such [REDACTED] upon his left side, that it [REDACTED] only [REDACTED] his clothes, but gave him [REDACTED] bruise [REDACTED] the flesh, [REDACTED] mark of [REDACTED] remained a long time.

The Romans, who engaged the phalanx, being unable to break it, Salius, [REDACTED] Peliguan officer, snatched the ensign of his company and threw it among the enemy. Hereupon, the Pelignians, rushing forward to recover it, for the Italians looked upon it as a great crime and disgrace to abandon their standard, [REDACTED] dreadful conflict and slaughter on both sides ensued. The Romans attempting to [REDACTED] pikes of the Macedonians asunder with their swords, to beat them back with their shields, or to put them by with their hands; but the Macedonians, holding them steady with both hands, pierced their adversaries through their armour, for neither shield nor corslet was proof against the pike.² The Pelignians, and Marrucinians [REDACTED] thrown headlong down, who, without any sort of discretion, [REDACTED] rather with a brutal fury, had exposed themselves [REDACTED] wounds, and run upon certain death. The [REDACTED] line thus cut in pieces, those that [REDACTED] behind were forced [REDACTED] give back, and though they did [REDACTED] fly, yet they retreated towards Mount Olocrus. Æmilius seeing this, rent [REDACTED] clothes, as Posidonius tells [REDACTED]. He [REDACTED] reduced [REDACTED] [REDACTED] despair, [REDACTED] find that part of his [REDACTED] had retired, and that [REDACTED] declined the combat with a phalanx which, by [REDACTED] of the pikes that defended [REDACTED] all sides like a rampart, appeared impenetrable and invincible. But [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] of the ground and the large [REDACTED] of the front would [REDACTED] permit their bucklers [REDACTED] joined through the whole, he observed several [REDACTED] teratices and openings in the Macedonian line; [REDACTED] it happens in

¹ This could not be Posidonius of Apamea, who wrote a continuation of Polybius's history: for that Posidonius went to Rome during the consulship of Marcellus, 118 [REDACTED] after this battle. Plutarch, indeed, [REDACTED] to have taken him either for a counterfeit, or a writer of no account, when he calls him *ens* Posidonius, who tells us he lived at that time.

² This shows the advantage [REDACTED] pike has over the broad-sword: and the bayonet is still better, because it gives the soldier the free use of his musket, without being [REDACTED] with a pike, and when screwed to the musket, supplies the place of a pike.

great armies, according to the *united* efforts of the combatants, who in one part press forward, and in another *are* forced *to* give back. For this reason, he *divided* his troops, *in* all possible expedition, into platoons, which *he* ordered to throw themselves into the void spaces of the enemy's front ; *and* so, *they* engage with the whole at once, but to make many impressions *in* the *same* time in *different* parts. These orders being given by *Æmilius* *and* the officers, and by *the* officers *to* the soldiers, they immediately made their way between the pikes, wherever there *was* an opening,¹ which *was* no sooner done, than *they* took the enemy in flank where they *were* quite exposed, while others fetched *round* and attacked them in *the* rear ; *thus* was the phalanx soon broken, and its strength, which depended upon *its* united effort, was *lost*. When they *came* to fight man with man, and party with party, the Macedonians had only short swords *to* strike the long shields of the Romans, that reached from head to foot, and slight bucklers *to* oppose *to* the Roman swords, which, by reason of their weight and the force with which they *were* managed, pierced through all *the* *enemy's* bodies ; *and* that they maintained their ground with difficulty, and in the end *were* entirely routed.

It was here, however, that the greatest efforts were made *on* both sides ; and here Marcus, the son of Cato, and son-in-law *of* *Æmilius*, after surprising acts of valour, unfortunately lost his sword. As he *was* a youth who had received all the advantages of education, and who owed *to* so illustrious *a* father extraordinary instances of virtue, he was persuaded that he had better die, than leave such *a* spoil in the hands of his enemies. He, therefore, flew through the ranks, and wherever he happened to *meet* any of his friends *or* acquaintance, he *showed* them his misfortune, and begged their assistance. A number of brave young men *thus* collected, who, following their leader with equal ardour, *they* traversed their own army, and *came* upon the Macedonians. After *a* sharp conflict and dreadful carnage, the enemy *was* driven back, and the ground being *very* vacant, the Romans sought for the sword, which with *great* difficulty was found under *a* heap of *the* *enemy's* and dead bodies. Transported with this success, they charged those that remained unbroken, with still greater eagerness and shouts of triumph. The 3000 Macedonians, who *were* select men, kept their station, and maintained the fight, but *they* last *were* entirely *cut* off. The *rest* fled ; and terrible was the slaughter of those. The *ground* and the *river* of the *Leucus* *were* covered with the dead, and the river Leucus, which *the* Romans crossed the day after the battle, *was* even then mixed with blood. For *it* is *said* that about 25,000 *were* killed *on* the Macedonian side ; whereas the Romans, according *to* *Posidonius*, lost but 100 ; *Nasica* says, only fourscore.²

1 On the *supposition* *of* this, Persons should have charged the Romans very bravely with his horse, and by that means have given his infantry time to re-
arm themselves ; *but* *they* *were* of *the*

they barely provided for their own safety by a precipitate flight.

² Utterly impossible ! if the circumstances of the fight are considered ; *but* *Livy's* account is lost.

This great [] was soon decided, for it began [] ninth hour, (3 P.M.), and victory declared herself before the tenth. The remainder of the day was employed in the pursuit, which [] continued for the space of [] furlongs, so that it was far in the night when they returned. The [] with torches [] masters, and conducted them with shouts of joy to their tents, which they had illuminated, and adorned with [] of ivy and laurel.¹

[] the general himself was overwhelmed with grief. For, of the [] that served under him, the youngest whom [] loved, [] who, of [] the brothers, [] most happily formed for virtue, [] not to [] found. He was naturally brave and ambitious of honour, [] very young, (17 years), he concluded that his inexperience [] him too far in the hottest of the battle, and that he [] certainly killed. The whole army [] sensible of [] and distress; and leaving their supper, they ran [] with torches, [] the general's tent, and [] of the trenches [] seek [] among the first of the slain. A profound melancholy reigned in the camp, while the field resounded [] the cries of those that called upon Scipio. For, so admirably had Nature tempered him, that he [] very early marked out by the world, [] a person [] beyond the rest of the youth, likely [] excel in the [] both of war and of civil government.

It was [] very late, and [] was almost given up, when he returned from the pursuit, with [] or three friends, covered with the [] blood of the foe, like a generous young hound, carried too far by the charms of the chase. *This is that Scipio, who afterwards destroyed Carthage and Numantia, and [] incomparably the first, both in virtue and power, of the Romans of his time.* Thus fortune did not choose at present to make Æmilius pay for the favour she did him, but deferred it to another opportunity; and therefore, he enjoyed this victory, with full satisfaction.

As for Perseus, [] from Pydna [] Pella, with his cavalry, which [] suffered [] loss. When the foot overtook them, they reproached them [] cowards and traitors, pulled them off their horses, and wounded several of them; [] that the king dreading the consequences of the tumult, turned his horse [] of the common road, and lest he [] be known, wrapped up his purple robe, [] put it [] him; he also took off his diadem, and carried [] his hand, and that he might converse the [] conveniently with his friends, alighted from his horse and [] him. [] they all slunk away from him by degrees; one under pretence of tying [] shoe, another of watering his horse, and a third of being thirsty himself: [] that they [] much afraid of the enemy, [] cruelty of Perseus, who, exasperated with [] misfortunes,

1 The laurel was sacred to Apollo, and the ivy to Bacchus. Bacchus, who is sometimes supposed to be the same with Hercules, was a warrior, and we read of his expedition into India. But the Roman custom of adorning the tents of the victors with ivy, the plant of Bacchus, might arise

from a more simple cause; Caesar, in his third book of the civil wars, says that in Pompey's camp he found the tent of Lentulus and some others covered with ivy; so sure had they made themselves of the victory.

sought to lay ■■■ blame of his miscarriage on anybody ■■■ ■■■■. He entered Pella in the night, where he killed with his poniard Euctes and Eudæus, ■■■ of ■■■ treasurers; who, when they waited upon him, had found fault with some of his proceedings, and provoked him by ■■■ unseasonable liberty of admonition. Hereupon, everybody forsook him, except Evander the Cretan, Archedamus the Ætolian, and Neon the Boeotian, nor did any of his soldiers follow him, but the Cretans, who ■■■ not attached ■■■ person but ■■■ his money, ■■■ bees ■■■ the honeycomb. For ■■■ carried great ■■■ along with him, and suffered them to take ■■■ of it cups and bowls, and other vessels of gold and silver,¹ ■■■ the value of 50 talents. But when he came to Amphipolis, and from thence to Alepsus,² ■■■ fears a little abating, he sunk again into ■■■ old and inborn distemper of avarice: he lamented to his friends, that he had inadvertently given up to the Cretans some of the gold plate of Alexander the Great, and he applied to those that had it, and ■■■ begged of them with tears, to ■■■ it him for the value ■■■ money. Those that knew him well, easily discovered that he ■■■ *playing the Cretan with the Cretans*,³ but such as ■■■ prevailed upon to give up the plate, lost all; for he never paid the money. Thus he got 30 talents from his friends, which soon after were to come into the hands of his enemies, and with these he sailed to Samothrace, where he took refuge at the altar of Castor and Pollux.⁴

The Macedonians have always had the character of being lovers of their kings,⁵ but ■■■, as if the chief bulwark of their constitution ■■■ broken down, and all were fallen with it, they submitted to Æmilius, and in two days he was master of all Macedonia. This seems to give some countenance to those who impute these events to fortune. A prodigy, which happened at Amphipolis, testified also the favour of the gods. *The consul ■■■ offering sacrifice there, and the sacred ceremonies ■■■ begun, when a flash of lightning fell upon the altar, and at once consumed and consecrated the victim.* But ■■■ share which fame had in this affair exceeds both that prodigy, and what they tell ■■■ of his good fortune. For, ■■■ the fourth day after Perseus was beaten at Pydna, as the people ■■■ at the equestrian games in Rome, a report ■■■ suddenly spread in ■■■ first seats of the theatre that Æmilius had gained a great battle

¹ ■■■ was afraid to give it them, lest the Macedonians out of spite should take all the ■■■.

² ■■■ apt copy has ■■■ Galepsus, probably upon the authority of Livy.

³ It was an ancient proverb, *The Cretans are always liars*. ■■■ Paul has quoted ■■■ from Callimachus.

⁴ He carried with him 5,000 talents.

⁵ When Perseus was at Amphipolis, being afraid that the inhabitants would take him and deliver him up to the Romans, he came out with Philip, the only child he had with him, and having mounted the tribunal, ■■■ to speak; but his voice flowed so ■■■ that, after several trials, ■■■ it ■■■ to ■■■

seed. Descending again from ■■■ ■■■, he spoke to Evander, who ■■■ went up to supply his place, and began to speak; but the people, who hated him, refused to ■■■ him, crying out, "Be gone, be gone; we are ■■■ not to expose ourselves, our wives, and our children, for your sakes. Fly, therefore, and leave us to make the ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ with the conquerors." Evander ■■■ been the principal actor in the assassination of Eumenes, and was afterwards despatched in Samothrace, by order of Perseus, who was afraid that Evander would accuse him as the author of that murder.

over Perseus, and overturned the kingdom of Macedon. The news [] public in a moment, [] multitude clapped [] and [] great acclamations, and it passed current that day [] city. Afterwards, when it appeared that it had [] good foundation, the story dropped [] the present; but when a few days [] it [] confirmed beyond dispute,¹ they could not but admire [] report which was its harbinger, and the fiction which turned to truth.

In [] it [] said that [] account of the battle of the Italians [] the river Sagara, [] carried into Peloponnesus the same day it [] fought; and of the defeat of the Persians [] Mycale, with equal expedition, to Platea: and that very soon after the battle which [] Romans gained [] the Tarquins and the people of Latium, that fought under their banners, [] young [] of uncommon size and beauty, who were conjectured to be Castor and Pollux, arrived [] Rome, [] army, with the news of it. The first man they [] with, by the fountain in the market-place, [] they were [] freshening their horses, that foamed with sweat, expressed his [] prize [] their [] of the victory; whereupon they [] said [] have smiled, and [] have stroked [] beard, which immediately turned from black [] yellow. This circumstance gained credit to his report, and got him the surname of *Ænobarbus* or *Yellow Beard*.

All these stories [] confirmed by that which happened in our times. For when Lucius Antonius rebelled against Domitian, Rome was much alarmed, and expected a bloody war in Germany, but on a sudden, and of their own proper motion, the people raised a report, and spread it [] the city, that Antonius was vanquished and slain, that his army was cut in pieces, and not one man had escaped. Such a run had the news, and such was the credit given to it, that many of the magistrates offered sacrifice on the occasion. But when the author of it was sought after, they were referred from [] another, all their inquiries [] eluded, and at last the news [] lost in the immense crowd, [] in a vast ocean. Thus the report, appearing to have no solid foundation, immediately vanished. But [] Domitian [] marching his forces to chastise the rebels, [] gers and letters met him on the road, which brought an account of the victory. Then they found it was won the same day the report [] propagated, though the field of battle was [] than 30,000 furlongs [] Rome. This is a fact which no [] can be unacquainted with.

Cneius Octavius, who was joined in command with Æmilius, came with [] fleet [] Samothrace, where, out of [] gods,² he permitted Perseus [] enjoy the protection of [] asylum,

1 [] was confirmed by the arrival of Q. Fabius Maximus, Æmilius, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus, who had been sent ex- [] by [], and reached Rome the [] day after [] action.

2 The gods of Samothrace were dreaded by all nations. The pagans carried their prejudices so far in favour of those pretended deities, that they were struck with awe upon the bare mention of their names. Of all the oaths that were in use

among the [], that by these gods was sworn [] most sacred and inviolable. Such as were found not to [] observed this oath were looked upon [] the curse of [], and persons devoted to destruction. Diodorus (lib. v.) tells us that these gods were always present, and never failed to assist those that were initiated, and called upon them in any sudden and unexpected danger; and that none ever duly performed their cere-

but watched the [] and guarded against his escape. Perseus, however, found [] privately [] Orandes, a Cretan, [] him and his [] into [] vessel, and carry them [] He, like [] Cretan, took in [] treasure, and advised Perseus to [] the night, with his [] children, and necessary attendants, [] the port called Demetrium; but, before this, [] had set sail. Miserable [] the condition of Perseus, compelled as [] escape through a [] window, and to let himself down by the wall, with [] wife and children, who had little experienced such fatigue and hardship; but [] more pitiable [] his groans when, [] he wandered by the shore, one told him, that he [] seen [] good way off at [] By this time it [] day, [] destitute [] other hope, he fled back to the wall. He [] not, indeed, undiscovered, yet [] reached the place of refuge, with his wife, before the Romans could take [] prevent it. His [] he put [] [] Ion, who [] been his favourite, but [] his betrayer; for he delivered them up to the Romans; and [] by the strongest necessity with which nature can be bound, obliged him, [] beasts do, when their young are taken, to yield himself to those who had his children in their power.

He had the greatest confidence in Nasica, and for him he inquired; but as he [] not there, he bewailed his fate, and sensible of the necessity he lay under, he surrendered himself to Octavius. Then it appeared more plain than ever, that [] laboured under a more despicable disease than avarice itself—I [] the fear of death; and this deprived him even of pity, the only consolation of which fortune does [] rob the distressed. For [] he [] to be conducted to Æmilius,¹ [] consul rose from his seat, and, accompanied with his friends, went to receive him with tears in his eyes, as a great [] unhappily fallen through the displeasure of the gods. But Perseus behaved in the vilest manner; he bowed down with his face [] the earth, [] embraced the Roman's knees; his expressions [] [] and his entreaties [] abject, that Æmilius could not endure them: but regarding him with an eye of regret and indignation, "*Why dost thou, wretched man!*" said he, "*acquit fortune of what might seem her greatest crime, by a behaviour which makes it appear that thou deservest her frowns, and that thou art not only now, but hast been long unworthy the protection of that goddess? Why dost thou tarnish my laurels, and de-* from [] achievements, by showing thyself a mean adversary,

[] dies without being amply rewarded [] their pity. No wonder, then, if the places of refuge in this island were very highly [] red [] temple of [] Pollux, [] Perseus fled, there was [] a wood, enclosed such, where those [] were admitted to the holy rites of the Cabiri, used to meet.

¹ Octavia, as soon as he had the king in his power, put him on board the admiral's galley, and having embarked also all his treasure that was left, the Roman

fleet weighed and stood for Amphipolis. [] express was dispatched from thence [] acquainted Æmilius with what had happened, who sent Tubero, [] some [] law, [] persons of distinction, to meet Perseus. The consul ordered [] to be immediately offered, and made the same rejoicings as if a new victory had been obtained. The whole camp ran out to see the royal prisoner, who, covered with a mourning cloak, walked alone to the tent of Æmilius.

and unfit to cope with a Roman. Courage in [] unfortunate [] highly revered even by an enemy; and cowardice, though it [] success, [] great contempt among the Romans."

Notwithstanding this severe rebuke, he raised him up, gave him his hand, [] delivered him into the custody of Tubero. Then taking [] sons, his sons-in-law, and the principal officers, particularly [] younger sort, back [] into his tent, [] a long time silent, [] the astonishment of the whole company. At last, he began [] speak of the vicissitudes of fortune, and of [] affairs. "Is it fit then," said he, "that a mortal should be elated by prosperity, and plume himself upon the overturning a city, [] a kingdom? Should [] not rather attend to the instructions of fortune, who, by such visible marks of her instability, and of the weakness of human power, teaches every one that goes to war, [] expect from her nothing solid and permanent? what time for confidence can there [] man, when in the very instant of victory, he [] necessarily dread the power of fortune, and the very joy of success [] be mingled with anxiety, from a reflection on [] course of unsparring fate, which humbles one [] to-day, and to-morrow another? when one short hour has been sufficient to overthrow the house of Alexander, who arrived at such a pitch of glory, and extended his empire over great part of the world; when you see princes that [] lately at the head of immense armies, receive their provisions for the day from the hands of their enemies; shall you dare to flatter yourselves that fortune [] firmly settled your prosperity, or that it is proof against the attacks of time? shall you not rather, my young friends, quit this elation of heart, and the vain raptures of victory, and humble yourselves in the thought of what may happen hereafter, in the expectation that the gods will send [] misfortune to counterbalance the present success?" Æmilius, they tell us, having said a great deal to this purpose, dismissed the young men, seasonably chastised with this [] discourse, and restrained in their natural inclination to arrogance.

He put his army in quarters, while he went to [] a view of Greece. This [] attended both with honour [] himself, and advantage to the Greeks; for [] redressed [] people's grievances, [] reformed their civil government, and gave them gratuities, [] wheat, and to others oil, [] of the royal []; in which such vast quantities are said to have been found, that the number of those that looked and received was too small to exhaust the whole. Finding a great square pedestal of white marble [] Delphi, designed for a golden [] of Perseus, he ordered [] put upon it;¹ alleging, that it was but just, that the conquered [] give place [] conqueror. At Olympia, we are told, he uttered that celebrated saying, "This Jupiter of Phidias is [] very Jupiter of H[]"

¹ This was not quite so consistent with his humilitating discourse on the vanity of []

Upon the arrival of the ■ commissioners¹ from Rome ■ settling the affairs of Macedonia, ■ declared the lands and cities of the Macedonians free, and ordered that they should be governed by their ■ laws; only reserving ■ tribute to the Romans ■ 100 talents, which ■ ■ half what their kings had imposed.

After this ■ exhibited various games and spectacles, offered sacrifices ■ the gods, and made great ■ ; ■ which ■ found ■ abundant supply in the ■ of the king. And ■ showed ■ just ■ discernment in the ordering, ■ placing, and saluting of ■ guests, and ■ distinguishing ■ degree of civility ■ due ■ every man's rank and quality ■ the Greeks ■ amazed ■ his knowledge of ■ of mere politeness, and that amidst his great actions, even trifles did not escape ■ ■ ■ were conducted with the greatest decorum. That which afforded ■ highest satisfaction was, that notwithstanding ■ magnificence and variety of his preparations, he himself gave the greatest pleasure ■ those he entertained. And ■ those that expressed their admiration of his management on these occasions, he said, "That he required the ■ genius to draw up an army and ■ order ■ entertainment;" that the one might be most formidable to ■ enemy, and the other ■ agreeable to the company."

Among his other good qualities, his disinterestedness and magnanimity stood foremost in the esteem of the world. For he would not so much as look upon the immense quantity of silver ■ gold that ■ collected out of the royal palaces, but delivered it to the *questors* ■ be carried into the public treasury. He reserved only the books of the king's library for his sons, who were ■ of letters; and in distributing rewards ■ those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, he gave a silver cup of five pounds weight ■ ■ son-in-law Aelius Tubero. This is ■ Tubero who ■ one of the sixteen relations who lived together, and ■ all supported by ■ small farm; and this piece of plate, acquired by virtue and honour, is affirmed ■ be the first that ■ in the family of the Aelians; neither they nor their wives having, ■ this, either used ■ wanted any vessels of silver ■ gold.

After he had made every proper regulation,² taken his leave of ■ Greeks, and exhorted the Macedonians to remember the liberty which the Romans ■ bestowed on them,³ and ■ preserve

¹ These ten legates were all men of consular dignity, who came to assist Aemilius in settling a new form of government. The Macedonians were not much charmed with the promise of liberty, because they could not well comprehend what that liberty was. They saw evident contradictions in the decree, which, though it spoke of leaving them under their own laws, imposed many new ones, and threatened more. What most disturbed them, was a division of their kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were separated and disjointed from each other.

² To these two particulars, of drawing up an army, and ordering an entertainment, Henry the IVth of France added—the making love.

³ At the close of these proceedings, Andronicus the Aetolian, and Neo the Demetrian, because they had always been friends to Perseus, and had not deserted him even now, were condemned, and lost their heads. So unjust amidst all the specious appearance of justice were the conquerors.

⁴ This boasted favour of the Romans to the people of Macedonia, was certainly no-

it by good laws and the happiest harmony, he marched into Epirus. The [REDACTED] had made a decree, [REDACTED] the soldiers who [REDACTED] fought under him against Perseus should have the spoil of the cities [REDACTED] Epirus. In order, therefore, that they might fall upon them [REDACTED] pectedly, he [REDACTED] for [REDACTED] of [REDACTED] principal inhabitants of each city, [REDACTED] fixed [REDACTED] day for them to bring in [REDACTED] silver and gold could [REDACTED] found in their houses and temples. With each of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] centurion and guard of soldiers, under pretence of searching for and receiving the precious metal, and [REDACTED] for this purpose only. But when the day came, they rushed upon [REDACTED] the inhabitants, and began to seize and plunder them. Thus in [REDACTED] hour 150,000 persons [REDACTED] [REDACTED] slaves, and seventy cities sacked. Yet from this general ruin and desolation, each soldier had [REDACTED] [REDACTED] than eleven drachmas to [REDACTED] share. How shocking was such [REDACTED] destruction for the sake of such advantage!

Æmilius, having executed [REDACTED] commission, so contrary [REDACTED] mildness and humanity, [REDACTED] down [REDACTED] Oricum, where he [REDACTED] his forces, and passed over into Italy. He sailed up [REDACTED] Tiber in the king's galley, which had sixteen banks of [REDACTED], and [REDACTED] richly adorned with [REDACTED] taken from the enemy, and with cloth of scarlet and purple; and the banks of the river being covered with multitudes that came to [REDACTED] the ship as it sailed slowly against the stream, the Romans in some measure anticipated his triumph.

But the soldiers, who looked with longing eyes on the wealth of Perseus, when they found their expectations disappointed, indulged a secret resentment, and were [REDACTED] to Æmilius. In public they alleged another [REDACTED]. They [REDACTED] he had behaved in command in [REDACTED] severe and imperious manner, and therefore they did not meet his wishes for a triumph. Servius Galba, who had served under Æmilius, as [REDACTED] tribune, and who had a personal enmity [REDACTED] him, observing this, pulled off the mask, and declared that [REDACTED] triumph ought to [REDACTED] allowed him. Having spread among the soldiery several calumnies against the general, and sharpened the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] which they had already conceived, Galba requested another day of [REDACTED] tribunes of the people; because the remaining four hours, he said, [REDACTED] not sufficient for the intended impeachment. But as the tribunes ordered him [REDACTED] speak then, if [REDACTED] had anything [REDACTED] say, he began a long harangue [REDACTED] of injurious and false allegations, and spun it out to the end of the day. When it [REDACTED] dark, the tribunes dismissed the assembly. The soldiers, now [REDACTED] insolent than ever, thronged about Galba; and animating each other, before [REDACTED] light took their stand in the Capitol, where [REDACTED] tribunes [REDACTED] ordered [REDACTED] assembly to be held.

thing extraordinary. Their country being now divided into four districts, it was [REDACTED] unlawful for any person to intermarry, to carry on any trade, to buy or sell any lands to any one who was not an [REDACTED] [REDACTED] his own district. [REDACTED] were prohibited to import any salt; or to

sell any timber fit for building ships to the barbarian [REDACTED]. All [REDACTED] [REDACTED], and their children exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded immediately to transport themselves into Italy: and the supreme power, [REDACTED] Macedon, was vested in certain Roman senators.

As _____ as day appeared, it was put to _____ vote, and the first tribe gave _____ against the triumph. When this _____ understood by _____ rest of the assembly and _____ senate, the commonalty expressed great _____ the injury _____ to Æmilius, but their words had _____ : _____ principal _____ insisted that _____ insufferable attempt, and encouraged each other to repress _____ bold and licentious spirit of the soldiers, who would in _____ stick _____ instance of injustice and violence,¹ if something _____ done to _____ their depriving Paulus Æmilius of _____ honours of his victory. They pushed, therefore, through the crowd, and, coming up in a body, demand _____ that _____ tribunes would put _____ stop to the _____ fringes, until they had delivered what they _____ to say to _____ people. The polling stopped accordingly, and silence made, Marcus Servilius, _____ man of consular dignity, who _____ killed three and twenty enemies in single combat, stood up, and spoke as follows :

"I am _____ sensible, more than ever, how great a general Paulus Æmilius is, when with _____ mutinous and disorderly _____ army he _____ performed such great and honourable achievements : but I am surprised _____ the inconsistency of the Roman people, if after rejoicing _____ triumphs over the Illyrians and Ligurians, they envy themselves the pleasure of seeing the king of Macedon brought alive, and all the glory of Alexander and Philip led captive by the Roman arms. For is it not _____ strange thing for you, who upon a slight _____ of the victory brought hither some time since, offered sacrifices, and made your _____ to the gods, _____ you might _____ see _____ account verified ; _____ the consul _____ returned with _____ real victory, to rob the gods of their due honour, and yourselves of the satisfaction, as if you were afraid to behold the greatness of the conquest, or _____ willing _____ spare the king ? though indeed, it would be much _____ to refuse the triumph out of mercy to him, than envy to your general. But to such excess is your malignity arrived, that a _____ who _____ received _____ wound, _____ shining in delicacy and fattened in _____ shade, dares discourse about the conduct of the _____ and the right to a triumph, _____ you who at the expense of _____ much blood have learned how _____ judge of the valour or misbehaviour of your command."

At the _____ time, baring _____ breast, he showed _____ incredible number of scars upon it, and then turning his back, he uncovered _____ parts which _____ is reckoned indecent to expose ; and addressing himself to Galba, _____ said, "Thou laughest _____ this ; but _____ glory in these marks before my fellow-citizens : for _____ got them by being on horseback day and night in their service. But _____ collect the _____ ; I will attend _____ whole business, and mark _____ cowardly _____ ungrateful men, who had rather have their own inclinations indulged in war, than be properly commanded." _____ speech, they tell us, so humbled _____ soldiery, and effected such an alteration on them, _____ the triumph was voted to Æmilius by every tribe.

¹ This was easily verified in the times of the Roman emperors.

triumph have ordered after In every theatre, as they call it, *circus*, where equestrian games held, in the *forum*, and other parts of the city, which convenient for seeing the procession, the people erected scaffolds, and the day of triumph were dressed in white. The temples open, adorned with garlands, and smoking with incense. Many *lictors* and other officers compelled the disorderly crowd to make way, and opened a clear passage. The triumph took up three days. On the first, which scarcely sufficient for the show, exhibited the images, paintings, and colossal statues, taken from the enemy, and carried in 250 chariots. Next day, the richest and beautiful of the Macedonian arms brought up in a great number of waggons. These glittering with newly furnished brass and polished steel; and though they were piled with art and judgment, yet seemed be thrown together promiscuously; helmets being placed upon shields, breastplates upon greaves, Cretan targets, Thracian bucklers, and quivers of arrows among the horses' bits, with the points of naked swords and long pikes appearing through on every side. All these arms tied together with such just liberty, that room left for them to clatter as they were drawing along, and the clank of them was so harsh and terrible, that they were without dread, though among the spoils of the conquered. After the carriages, loaded with arms, walked 3000 men, who carried the silver money in 750 vessels, each of which contained three talents, and borne by four men. Others brought bowls, horns, goblets, and cups, all of silver, disposed in such order as would make the best show, and valuable only for their size but the depth of the basso relievo. On the third day, early in the morning, first came up the trumpets, with such airs as used in a procession of solemn entry, but with such Romans sound when they animate their troops to the charge. These followed by a fat oxen, with their horns gilded, and set off with ribbons and garlands. The young that led these victims, were girded with belts of curious workmanship; and after them the boys who carried the gold and silver vessels for the sacrifice. Next went the persons that carried the gold coin¹ in vessels which held three talents each, like those that contained the silver, and which were to the number of seventy-seven. Then followed those that bore the consecrated bowl² of talents weight which Æmilius had caused to be made of gold, and adorned with precious; and those that exposed view the cups of Antigonus of Seleucus, and such as were of the make of the famed artist, Siericles, together with the gold plate that had been used Perseus's table. Immediately after, was to be the chariot of

¹ According to Plutarch's account, there were 2,250 tal silver coin, and 251 gold coin. According to Valerius Ant. it is somewhat more; but Livy tells his computation too small. Velleius Paterculus makes twice as much. The account which Pu-

terculus gives of it is probably right, since the money now brought from Macedonia set the Romans free from all taxes for 125 years.

² This bowl weighed 600 pounds; for the talent weighed sixty pounds. was so accented Jugiter.

happy ■ whom fortune gives an equal share of good and evil. For Æmilius having four sons, two of which, namely, Scipio and Fabius, ■ adopted into other families, and two others by his second wife, as yet but young, whom he brought up in his ■ house ; ■ of these died at fourteen years of age, five days before ■ father's triumph, and the other twelve, three days after. There was not a man among ■ Romans that ■ not sympathise with him in this affliction. All ■ shocked at the cruelty of fortune,¹ who scrupled ■ to introduce such deep distress into a house that ■ full of pleasure, of joy, and festal sacrifices, and to mix ■ songs of victory and triumph with the mournful dirges of death.

Æmilius, however, rightly considering that mankind have need of courage and fortitude, ■ only against swords and spears, but against every attack of fortune, ■ tempered and qualified the present emergencies, ■ overbalance the evil by the good, and his private misfortunes by his public prosperity ; that nothing might appear ■ lessen the importance, ■ tarnish the glory of the victory. For, soon after the burial of the first of his sons, he made his triumphal entry ; and upon the death of the second ■ after the triumph, he assembled the people of Rome, and made ■ speech to them, not like ■ man that wanted consolation himself, but like one that could alleviate the grief which his fellow citizens felt for his misfortunes.

"Though I have never," said he, "feared anything human, yet among things divine I have always ■ a dread of fortune, as the ■ faithless and variable of beings ; and because in the course of this war she prospered every measure of mine, the rather did I expect that some tempest would follow so favourable ■ gale. For in one day I passed the Ionian from Brundisium to Corcyra : from thence in five days I reached Delphi, and sacrificed to Apollo. In five days ■ I took upon me the command of the army in Macedonia : and as ■ I had offered the usual sacrifices for purifying it, I proceeded to action, and in the space of fifteen days from that time put ■ glorious period to the war. Distrusting the fickle goddess ■ account of such ■ run of success, and ■ being ■ and free from all danger with respect to the enemy, I ■ apprehensive of a change of fortune in my ■ home ; having such ■ great and victorious army to conduct, together with

■ happiest ■ ■ happiness sta-

But had ■ ■ drought & dash'd with ■

Plato has censured it as ■ impiety to say that God gives evil. God is not the author of evil. Moral evil is the result of the abuse of free agency, natural evil is the consequence of the imperfection of matter, and the Deity stands justified in his creating beings liable to both because natural imperfection ■ to a progressive existence, moral imperfection was necessary to virtue, and virtue was necessary to happiness. However, Ho-

mer's allegory seems borrowed from the eastern concept of speaking ; Thus in the Psalms, *In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and he pourth out of the same ; as for the stones thereof, all the mighty of the earth shall drink them* Psal. lxxv. 8.

I ■ more properly, ■ just ■ interposition of Providence, ■ punish ■ some measure that ■ moral ■ ■ human species which the ■ pride ■ ■ so recently made in Greece. For though ■ ■ the author of evil ■ is ■ impeach- ■ of his goodness to ■ ■ by particular punishments he ■ ■ particular crimes,

the spoils and royal prisoners. Nay, when I arrived among my countrymen, and beheld the city full of joy, festivity, and gratitude, I suspected fortune, knowing that she grants no great favour without some mixture of uneasiness or tribute of pain. Thus full of anxious thoughts of what might happen to the commonwealth, my fears did quit me, till this calamity visited my house, and I had my two promising sons, my only heirs I had left myself, bury after another, on the very days sacred to triumph. Now therefore, I am secure as to the greatest danger, and I trust and am fully persuaded my fortune continue kind and favourable to us, since she has taken sufficient usury for her favours of mine; for the man who led the triumph is a great an instance of the weakness of human power; he that is led captive: there is only one difference, that the sons of Perseus, who were vanquished, are alive; those of Æmilius, who conquered are no more."

Such was the generous speech which Æmilius made to the people, from a spirit of magnanimity that was perfectly free from artifice.

Though he pitied the fate of Perseus, and was well inclined to serve him, yet all he could do for him, was to get him removed from the prison to a cleaner apartment and better diet. In confinement, according to most writers, he starved himself to death. But some say the manner of his death was very strange and peculiar. The soldiers, they tell us, who were his keepers, being on some count provoked at him, and determined to wreak their malice, when they could find no other means of doing it, kept him from sleep, taking turns to watch him, and using such diligence to keep him from rest, that at last he was quite wearied out and died.¹ Two of his sons also died; and the third, named Alexander, is said to have been distinguished for his industry in turning and other small work; and having perfectly learned to speak and write the Roman language, was employed by the magistrates as a clerk,² in which capacity he showed himself very serviceable and ingenious.

Of the conduct of Æmilius with regard to Macedonia, the most acceptable to the Romans was, that from thence he brought much money into the public treasury, that the people had no occasion to pay any till the time of Hirtius and Pansa, who were consuls in the first year between Antony and Caesar. Æmilius had also the common and peculiar happiness, to be highly honoured and caressed by the people, the time that he remained attached to the patrician party, and did nothing to ingratiate himself with the commonalty, but ever acted in concert with men of the rank, in the government. This conduct of his afterwards alleged by way of reproach against Scipio Africanus, by Appian. These two being then the most considerable men in Rome, stood out as

¹ This account we have from Diodorus Siculus, *op. Phot. Biblioth.* Philip is said to have died his father, but how or where cannot be collected, because the books of Livy, and of Diodorus Siculus, which treat of those times, are lost.

² Here was a remarkable instance of the

pride of the Roman senate, to have the son of a vanquished king for their clerk: while Nicomedes, son of the king of Bithynia, was employed by them with all imaginable pomp and splendour, because the senate had put him under the care of the republic.

sorship ; ■■■ having the senate ■■■ nobility on ■■■ side, ■■■ the Appian family ■■■ always ■■■ interest, and the other ■■■ only great in himself, but ever greatly in favour with the people. When, therefore, Appius ■■■ Scipio come into the *forum* attended by a crowd ■■■ persons, and many who had been slaves, but who ■■■ able ■■■ cahal, ■■■ influence the multitude, and ■■■ carry all before them, either by solicitation or clamour, he cried out, "O Paulus Æmilius ! groan, groan from beneath the earth, ■■■ think that Æmilius the ■■■ and Lycinius the rioter conduct thy son ■■■ the censorship !" It ■■■ no wonder ■■■ the ■■■ of Scipio was espoused by the people, since ■■■ continually heaping favours ■■■ them. ■■■ Æmilius, though he ranged himself on the side of the nobility, was as much beloved by the populace ■■■ the most insinuating of their demagogues. This appeared ■■■ their bestowing upon him, among other honours, that of the censorship, which is the most sacred of all offices, and which ■■■ great authority annexed to it, ■■■ in other respects, so particularly in the power of inquiring into the morals of the citizens. For the ■■■ could expel from the ■■■ any member that acted in a ■■■ unworthy of his station, and enrol ■■■ of character in that body ; and they could disgrace ■■■ of the equestrian order who behaved licentiously, by taking away his horse. They also took account of the value of each man's estate, and registered the number of the people. The number of citizens which Æmilius took, was 337,452. He declared Marcus Æmilius Lepidus first *sestator*, who had already four times arrived at that dignity. He expelled only three ■■■ who ■■■ men of no ■■■ ; and with equal moderation both he and his colleague Marcus Philippus behaved in examining into the conduct of ■■■ knights.

Having settled many important affairs while he bore this office, he fell into a distemper which at first appeared very dangerous, but in time became less threatening, though it still ■■■ troublesome and difficult ■■■ be cured. By the advice therefore of his physicians, ■■■ sailed ■■■ Velia,¹ where he remained ■■■ long ■■■ ■■■ the sea, in ■■■ very retired and quiet situation. In the meantime the Romans greatly regretted his absence, and by frequent exclamations ■■■ the theatres, testified their extreme desire to ■■■ him again. At last, a public sacrifice coming on, which necessarily required his attendance, Æmilius seeming now sufficiently recovered returned to Rome, and offered that sacrifice, with the assistance of the other priests, amidst ■■■ prodigious multitude of people, who expressed their joy for ■■■ return. Next day he sacrificed again ■■■ ■■■ gods for ■■■ recovery. Having finished these rites, ■■■ returned home and ■■■ ■■■, when he suddenly ■■■ into ■■■ delirium, ■■■ which ■■■ ■■■ third day, having attained to everything that is supposed to contribute ■■■ the happiness of ■■■

■■■ funeral ■■■ conducted ■■■ wonderful solemnity ; the cordial regard ■■■ public did honour to ■■■ virtue, by the ■■■ ■■■ happiest obsequies. These did ■■■ consist in the pomp of gold, ■■■ ivory,

¹ Plutarch here writes *Elia* instead of *Velia* and calls it a town in Italy, to dis-

tinguish it from one of that name in Greece.

other, and parade, in esteem, in love, in veneration, expressed not only by his countrymen, but by very enemies. For as many of the Spaniards, Ligurians, and Macedonians¹ as happened to then at Rome, were young and robust, assisted in carrying his bier; while the aged followed it, calling Æmilius their benefactor, and the preserver of their countries. For only, the them, gained the character of humanity, but continued to do them services, and them, if they had been his friends and relations.

The estate he left behind him scarcely amounted to the sum of 370,000 *denarii*, of which he appointed his sons joint-heirs: but Scipio, his younger son, who was adopted into the opulent house of Africanus, gave his part to his brother. Such an account have of his and character of Paulus Æmilius.²

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

HAVING thus presented you with the history of Agis and Cleomenes, have Romans compare with them; and less dreadful a scene of calamities to open in the lives of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They were the sons of Tiberius Gracchus; who, though he was once honoured with the censorship, twice the consulate, and many triumphs, yet derived still greater dignity from his virtues.³ Hence, after the death of that Scipio who conquered Hannibal, he was thought worthy to marry Cornelia, the daughter of that great man, though he had not been put upon any terms of friendship with him, but rather always at variance. It is said that he once caught a pair of serpents upon his bed, and that the soothsayers, after they had considered the prodigy, advised him neither to kill them both, nor let them both go. If he killed the male serpent, they told him his death would be the consequence; if the female, that of Cornelia. Tiberius, who loved his wife, and thought more suitable for him to die first, who was much older than his wife, let the male, and gave the female to liberty. Not long after this, he died, leaving Cornelia no fewer than twelve children.⁴

His care of his house and the children now entirely devolved upon Cornelia; and she behaved with such sobriety, so much

¹ These were some of the nations, who were then at Rome. Valerius

Maximus says, it was a second triumph to him, to have these persons assist in supporting his bier, which was adorned with representations of his greatest of their country. In fact, it was a very honourable triumph he had to win, because he was witness to his countrymen, and only to his

² A saying of his to his son Scipio is

worth mentioning: A good general never gives battle, but when he is led to it, either by the last necessity, or by a very favourable occasion.

³ Cleoro in his first book praises the highest excellencies on his virtue and wisdom. He was grandson to Fabius Maximus.

⁴ Cleoro relates this story in his first book de *Distinctione*, from the memoirs of Caius Gracchus, the son of Tiberius.

parental affection and greatness of mind, that Tiberius seemed to have judged ill, in choosing her for so valuable a woman. For though Ptolemy, king of Egypt, paid his addresses to her, she shared her throne, she refused him. During her widowhood, she lost her children except three, one daughter, who was married to Scipio the younger, and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, whose lives are now writing. Cornelia brought up with so much care, that though they were without dispute of the noblest family, she had the happiest genius and disposition of all the Roman youth, yet education allowed her to have contributed more to their perfection than nature.

As in the likenesses and pictures of Castor and Pollux, though there is a resemblance between the brothers, yet there is also a difference in the make of him who delighted in the *cestus*, and in the other whose province was horsemanship: so while these young men strongly resembled each other in point of valour, of temperance, of liberality, of eloquence, of greatness of mind, there appeared in their action and political conduct no small dissimilarity. It may be amiss to explain the difference, before we proceed further.

In the first place, Tiberius had a mildness in his look; and a composure in his whole behaviour: Caius as much vehemence and fire. So that, when they spoke in public, Tiberius had a great modesty of action, and shifted not his place: whereas Caius was the first of the Romans that, in addressing the people, moved from one end of the *rostra* to the other, and threw his gown off his shoulders. So it is related of Cleon of Athens that he was first orator who threw back his robe and smote upon his thigh. The oratory of Caius was strongly impassioned, and calculated to excite terror: that of Tiberius was of a more gentle kind, and pity was the emotion that it raised.

The language of Tiberius was chaste and elaborate: that of Caius splendid and persuasive. So, in their way of living, Tiberius was plain and frugal: Caius, when compared to other young Romans, temperate and sober; but, in comparison with his brother, a friend to luxury. Hence, Drusus objected to him, that he had bought Delphic tables of silver only, but very exquisite workmanship, at the price of 1250 drachmas: *four pounds*.

Their tempers were less different than their language. Tiberius was mild and gentle: Caius, high spirited and uncontrolled; insomuch, that in speaking he would often be carried away by the violence of his passion, exalt his voice above the regular pitch, give into abusive expressions, and disorder the whole frame of his oration. To guard against these excesses he ordered his friend Licinius, who was a sensible man, to stand with a pitchpipe behind him when he spoke in public, and whenever he found him straining his voice to breaking out into passion, to give him a softer key; upon

These, we suppose, were a kind of tripods.

² Cleon, in his third book *de Oratione*.

calls this a small ivory pipe.

which, his violence both of tone and passion immediately abated, and he easily recalled to a propriety of address.

the difference between two brothers. But in the valour they exerted against their enemies, in the justice they did their fellow-citizens, in attention to their duty as magistrates, and in self-government with respect to pleasure, they were perfectly alike. Tiberius was nine years younger than his brother; consequently their political operations took place in different periods. This was a great disadvantage, and indeed the principal thing which prevented their ever flourishing together, and acting in concert, an union would have added greatly to their force, and perhaps might have rendered it irresistible. We must, therefore, speak of each separately; and we begin with the eldest.

Tiberius, as he grew towards manhood, gained an extraordinary reputation, that he was admitted into the college of augurs rather on account of his virtue than his high birth. Of his excellence of his character is also a proof: Appius Claudius, who had been honoured both with the consulate and censorship; whose merit had raised him to the rank of president of the senate, and who in sense and spirit was superior to all the Romans of his time, supping one evening with the augurs at a public entertainment, addressed himself to Tiberius with great kindness, and offered him his daughter in marriage. Tiberius accepted the proposal with pleasure; and the contract being agreed upon, Appius, when he came home, had no sooner entered the house, than he called out aloud to his wife and said, "Antistia, I have contracted our daughter Claudia." Antistia, much surprised, answered, "Why, so suddenly? What need of such haste, unless Tiberius Gracchus be the man you have pitched upon?" I am not ignorant that some tell the same story of Tiberius, the father of the Gracchi, and Scipio Africanus; but most historians give it in the name of the latter; and Polybius, in particular, tells us that, after the death of Africanus, Cornelia's relations gave her to Tiberius, in preference to all competitors; which is a proof that her father had engaged her.

Tiberius Gracchus served in Africa under the command of Scipio, who had married his sister; and, as he lived in the same household with his general, he became immediately attentive to his genius and powers, which were daily productive of such actions as might animate him to virtue, and attract his imitation. With these advantages Tiberius soon excelled all of his contemporaries both in point of discipline and valour. At a siege of one of the enemy's towns, he was the first that scaled the walls, as Fannius relates,¹ who, according to his account, mounted it with him, and had a share in the honour. In short, Tiberius, while he stayed with his army, was greatly beloved, and was much regretted when he left it.

¹ Amongst these was Livy, lib. xxxviii. c. 37.

² This Fannius was author of a history

and certain annals which were abridged by Brutus.

After this expedition he was appointed quaestor, and it ■■■ his lot to attend the consul Caius Mancinus in the Numantian war.¹ Mancinus did not want courage; but he ■■■ one of the ■■■ fortunate generals the Romans ever had. Yet, amidst ■ train of ■■■ accidents and desperate circumstances, Tiberius distinguished himself the more, not only by his courage and capacity, but, what ■■■ him greater honour, by his respectful behaviour ■■■ his general, whose misfortunes had made him forget even ■■■ authority that he bore. For, after having lost several important battles, he attempted ■ decamp in the night: the Numantians, perceiving this movement, seized the camp, ■■■ upon the fugitives, made great havoc of the ■■■ Not ■■■ed with this, they surrounded the whole army, and drove the Romans upon impracticable ground, where there ■■■ possibility of escape. Mancinus, ■■■ despairing of making his way sword in hand, ■■■ ■ herald ■■■ beg a ■■■ and conditions of peace. The Numantians, however, would trust ■ man but Tiberius, and they insisted on his being ■■■ treat. This they did, ■■■ only ■■■ regard to the young man who had ■■■ great a character in the army, but to the memory of his father, who ■■■ formerly made ■■■ in Spain, and after having subdued several nations, granted the Numantians ■ peace, which through his interest was confirmed ■ Rome, and observed with good faith. Tiberius was accordingly sent; and, in his negotiation, he thought proper to comply with ■■■ articles, ■■■ by which ■■■ he gained others, and made a peace that undoubtedly saved 20,000 ■■■ citizens, besides slaves and other retainers, ■■■ the army.

But whatever ■■■ left in ■■■ camp the Numantians took as legal plunder. Among the rest they carried off the books and papers which contained the accounts of Tiberius's quaestorship. As it ■■■ a matter of importance to him to ■■■ them, though the Roman army ■■■ already under march, he returned with a few friends ■■■ Numantia. Having called out the magistrates of the place, he desired them to ■■■ him his books, that his enemies might not have an opportunity ■■■ him, when they ■■■ he had lost the means of defending himself. The Numantians ■■■ much pleased that the accident had given them ■■■ opportunity ■■■ oblige him, and they invited ■■■ enter ■■■ city. As ■■■ deliberating ■■■ circumstance, they drew nearer, and taking him by the hand, earnestly entreated him ■■■ longer to look upon them ■■■ enemies, but ■■■ rank them among his friends, and place a confidence ■■■ them as such. Tiberius thought it best ■■■ comply, both for the sake of his books, and for fear of offending them by the appearance ■■■ distrust. Accordingly he went into the ■■■ ■■■ them, where the first thing they did was ■■■ provide ■■■ collation, ■■■ ■■■ beg he would partake of it. Afterwards they returned him ■■■ books, and desired he would take whatever ■■■ he chose among ■■■ spoils. ■■■ accepted, however, of nothing ■■■ some

¹ ■■■ was consul w. l. ■■■ Lucius Lelidius in the year ■■■ Rome 628.

frankincense, to be used in the public sacrifices, and at ■■■ depar-
■■■ he embraced them with great cordiality.

On his return to Rome, he ■■■■ that the whole business of the peace ■■■ considered in ■■■ obnoxious and dishonourable light. In ■■■ danger, the relations and friends of the soldiers he had brought off, who made ■ very considerable part of the people, joined ■ support Tiberius ; imputing ■ the disgrace of what ■■ done ■ the ■■■■, and insisting that the quaestor had saved so many citizens. The generality of the citizens, however, could ■■ suffer ■■ peace ■■ stand, and they demanded that, in this case, the ■■ ample of their ■■■■■ should be followed. For when their gen-
rals thought themselves happy in getting out of ■■ hands of the Samnites, by agreeing ■ such a league, they delivered them naked to the enemy.¹ The quaestors too, and the tribunes, and ■■ that had ■ share in concluding the peace, they sent back in the ■■■ condition, and turned entirely upon them the breach of ■■ treaty and of the oath that should have confirmed it.

On this occasion the people showed their affection for Tiberius in ■ remarkable ■■■■ ; for they decreed that the consul should be delivered up to the Numantians, naked and in chains ; but that all the rest should be spared for ■■ sake of Tiberius. Scipio, who had then great authority and interest in Rome, seems to have contributed to the procuring of this decree. He was blamed, notwithstanding, for not saving Mancinus, nor using his best endeavours to ■■ the peace with the Numantians ratified, which would not have been granted ■■ all, had it not ■■■ on account of his friend and relation Tiberius. Great part of these complaints, indeed, seems to have arisen from the ambition and excessive zeal of Tiberius's friends, and the sophists he had about him ; and the difference be-
■■■ him and Scipio ■■ far from terminating in irreconcilable enmity. Nay, I ■■ persuaded, that Tiberius would ■■■ have fallen into those misfortunes that ruined him, had Scipio been ■ home, ■ assist him in his political conduct. He ■■ engaged in war with Numantia, when Tiberius ventured to propose his new laws. It ■■ on this occasion :—

When the Romans in their wars made any acquisitions of lands from their neighbours, they used formerly ■ sell part, ■ add part ■ the public demesnes, and to distribute ■■ among the necessitous citizens ; only reserving a small rent ■ be paid into the treasury. But when the rich began to carry ■ with a high hand ■■ the poor, and ■ exclude them entirely, if they did ■■ pay ■■ orbitant rents, a law ■■ made that ■■ man should be possessed ■■ than 500 ■■ of land. This statute for awhile restrained the avarice of the rich, and helped the poor, who, by virtue of it, ■■ mained upon their lands ■ the ■■ rents. But afterwards their wealthy neighbours took their farms from them, ■■ ■■ them in other ■■■■ ; though, in time, they scrupled ■■ ■■ claim them ■■

¹ This was about 183 years before. The generals sent back were ■■ ■■■■
Veturius Calvina and Posthumus Albinus.

their [redacted] The poor thus expelled, neither gave in [redacted] names readily [redacted] the levies, nor attended to the education of their children. The consequence was, a want of freemen [redacted] Italy, for [redacted] filled with slaves and barbarians, who, after the poor Roman citizens were dispossessed, cultivated the ground for the rich. Caius Lælius, the friend of Scipio, attempted [redacted] correct this disorder; but finding a formidable opposition from persons in power, and fearing the matter could [redacted] be decided without the sword, he gave [redacted] up. This gained him the [redacted] of Lælius the wise.¹ But Tiberius was [redacted] appointed tribune of the people, than [redacted] embarked in the same enterprise. He [redacted] put upon it, according [redacted] most authors, by Diophanes the rhetorician, and Blossius the philosopher; the former of whom [redacted] a Mitylenian exile, the latter a native of Cumæ in Italy, and a particular friend of Antipater of Tarsus, with whom he became acquainted at Rome. and who did him the honour [redacted] address [redacted] of [redacted] philosophical writings to him.

Some blame his mother *Cornelia, who used to reproach her sons, that she was still called the mother-in-law of Scipio, not the mother of the Gracchi.* Others say, Tiberius took this rash step from a jealousy of Spurius Posthumius, who was of the [redacted] ago with him, and his rival in oratory. It seems, when he returned from the wars, he found Posthumius so much before him in point of reputation and interest with the people, that, to recover his ground, he undertook [redacted] hazardous affair, which so effectually drew the popular attention upon him. But his brother Caius writes, that as Tiberius was passing through Tuscany on his way to Numantia, and found the country almost depopulated, there being scarce any husbandmen or shepherds, except slaves from foreign and barbarous nations, he then first formed the project which plunged them into so many misfortunes. It is certain, however, that [redacted] people inflamed his spirit of enterprise and ambition, by putting up writings [redacted] porticoes, walls and monuments, in which they begged of him to [redacted] more their share of the public lands [redacted] the poor.

Yet he did [redacted] frame the law without consulting [redacted] of [redacted] Romans that [redacted] most distinguished for their virtue and authority. Among these were Crassus the chief pontiff, Mutius Scaevola the lawyer, who at that time [redacted] also consul, and Appius Claudius, father-in-law to Tiberius. There [redacted] a milder [redacted] made against [redacted] much injustice and oppression. For they who deserved [redacted] have been punished for their infringement on the rights of the community, and fined for holding the [redacted] contrary [redacted] law, [redacted] to have [redacted] consideration for giving up their groundless claims, and restoring the estates to such of the citizens [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] relieved. But though the reformation [redacted] conducted with [redacted] much tenderness, the people were satisfied: they were willing [redacted] overlook what was passed, on condition that they might guard against future usurpations.

¹ Plutarch seems here to have followed some [redacted] authority. [redacted] was not this circumstance, but the abatement of

now of his life, [redacted] gave [redacted] [redacted] name of [redacted].

On ■ other hand, persons of great property opposed the law out ■ avarice, and the lawgiver out of a spirit of resentment and malignity ; endeavouring to prejudice ■ peop ■ against the design, as if Tiberius intended by the *Agrarian law* ■ throw all into disorder ■ subvert ■ constitution. ■ their attempts ■ vain. For, in ■ just ■ glorious cause, Tiberius exerted an eloquence ■ might have adorned ■ subject, and which nothing could resist. How great ■ he, when the people ■ gathered about the *rostrum*, and he pleaded for the poor in such language as this :
 “ ■ *beasts of Italy have their caves ■ retire to ; ■ the brave men who spill their blood in her cause have nothing left ■ air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitations, ■ wander from place ■ place with their wives and children ; ■ their generals do ■ mock them, when, at the head of their armies, they exhort their men ■ fight for their sepulchres and domestic gods : for, among such numbers, perhaps there is not a Roman who has ■ altar ■ belonged ■ his ancestors, or ■ sepulchre in which their ashes rest. ■ private soldiers fight and die ■ advance the ■ and luxury of the great ; and they are called masters of the world, while they have not ■ foot of ground in their possession.*”

Such speeches ■ this, delivered by a ■ of such spirit, and flowing from a heart really interested ■ the cause, filled the people with ■ enthusiastic fury ; and none of his adversaries durst pre- ■ to ■ him. Forbearing, therefore, the ■ of words, they addressed themselves to Marcus Octavius, ■ of the tribunes, a grave and modest young man, and an intimate acquaintance of Tiberius. Out of reverence for his friend, he declined the task at first ; but upon a number of applications from men of the first rank, he was prevailed upon to oppose Tiberius, and prevent the passing of the law : *for the tribune's power chiefly lies in the negative voice, and if one of them stands out, the rest ■ effect nothing.*

Incensed by this behaviour, Tiberius dropped his moderate bill, and proposed another ■ agreeable to the commonalty, and ■ against the usurers. For by this they were commanded immediately ■ quit the lands which they held contrary ■ former laws. On this subject there ■ daily disputes between him and Octavius ■ the *rostra* ; yet not one abusive ■ disparaging word ■ said ■ have escaped either of them in all the ■ of speaking. Indeed, *an ingenuous disposition and liberal education will prevent ■ restrain the sallies of passion, not only during the free enjoyment of the bottle, but ■ the ardour of contention about points of a superior ■*

Tiberius, observing that Octavius ■ liable to suffer by ■ bill, as having more land than the laws could warrant, ■ ■ give up his opposition, and offered, at the ■ time, ■ indemnify him ■ of ■ fortune, though that ■ great. As this proposal ■ accepted, Tiberius forbade all other magistrates ■ exercise their functions, till ■ *Agrarian law* ■ passed. ■ likewise put his own seal upon the doors of the ■ temple of Saturn, that the quaestors might neither bring anything into ■ treasury

Upon this he dismissed the assembly. Next day he convoked it again; and when he had mounted the *rostra*, he made another attempt to bring Octavius to compliance. Finding him inflexible, he proposed a decree for depriving him of the tribuneship, and immediately put it to the vote. When, of the five and thirty tribunes, he had given their voices for it, and there wanted only one more to make Octavius a private man, Tiberius ordered them to stop, once more applied to his colleague. He embraced him with great tenderness in sight of the people, and with most pressing instances besought him, neither to bring such a mark of infamy upon himself, nor expose himself to the disreputation of being promoter of such severe and violent measures. It was without emotion Octavius is said to have listened to these entreaties. His eyes were filled with tears, and he stood a long time silent. But when he looked towards the persons of property, who were assembled in his body, shame and fear of losing himself in their opinion brought him back to his resolution to run his risks, and, with a noble firmness, he bade Tiberius do his pleasure. The bill, therefore, passed; and Tiberius ordered some of his freedmen to pull down Octavius from the tribunal; for he employed his own freedmen as lictors. This ignominious manner of expulsion made the fall of Octavius pitiable. The people, notwithstanding, fell upon him; but by the interposition of those of the landed interest, who came to his defence, and kept off the mob, he escaped with his life. However, a faithful servant of his, who stood before him to ward off the danger, had his eyes torn out. This violence was much against the will of Tiberius, who, when he saw the tumult rising, than he hastened down to appease it.

The Agrarian law then was confirmed, and three commissioners appointed to take a survey of the lands, and see them properly distributed. Tiberius was one of the three; his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, another; and his brother, Caius Gracchus, the third. The latter then making the campaign under Scipio at Numantia. Tiberius having carried these points without opposition, he filled up the vacant tribune's office; into which he did not put a man of any note, but Mutius, one of his own clients. These proceedings exasperated the patricians extremely, and as they dreaded the increase of his power, they took every opportunity to insult him in the forum. When he desired, for instance, what was nothing more than customary, to be exempted from the public charge, for his share in dividing the lands, they refused him one, though such things had been often granted on much less important occasions. And, when the motion of Publius Nasica, he had only nine days allowed to speak. Publius Nasica, indeed, was become his avowed enemy, for he had a large estate in the public lands, and was of course unwilling to be stripped of it.

At the same time the people were more and more enraged. One day Tiberius's horse happening to die suddenly, several malignant spots appearing upon the body, they loudly declared that the man was poisoned. They assembled at his funeral, took the body upon their

shoulders, carried it to the pile. There they suspicions; for the corpse burst, quantity corrupted humours, that it put out the fire. Though more brought, would not burn in any other place; and it was with much difficulty that the body was consumed. Hence Tiberius took occasion to incense the commonalty still more against the other party. He put in mourning; he led his children into the forum, and them and their mother to the protection of the people, giving his own life for lost.

At this time died Attalus¹ Philopater; and brought his will to Rome by which it appeared, that he had Roman people heirs. Tiberius, endeavouring to avail himself of this incident, immediately proposed a law, "That ready money the king should be distributed among the citizens, to enable them to provide working tools, and proceed in the cultivation of newly assigned lands. As the cities, too, in the territories of Attalus, the senate, he said, a right to dispose of them, but the people, and he would refer the business entirely to their judgment."

This embroiled him still more with the senate; and one of their body, of the name of Pompey, stood up and said, "He was neighbour to Tiberius, and by that means opportunity to know that Eudemus Pergamenian had brought him a royal diadem and purple robe for his use when he was king of Rome." Quintus Metellus said another severe thing against him. "During the censorship of your father, whenever he returned home after supper, the citizens put out their lights, that they might not appear to indulge themselves at unseasonable hours; but you, at a hour, have of the and most audacious the people about you with torches in their hands." And Titus Annius, a man of character in point of morals, but a disputant, remark- for subtlety both of his questions and answers, one day challenged Tiberius, and to prove him guilty of a great in deposing of his colleagues, whose person by the laws was sacred and inviolable. This proposition a tumult in the audience, and Tiberius immediately went out and called an assembly of the people, designing to accuse Annius of the indignity he had offered him. Annius appeared; and knowing himself greatly famed both in eloquence and reputation, he had recourse to his old art, and begged leave only to ask him a question before the business came on. Tiberius consented, and silence being made, Annius said, "Would you a mark of disgrace and infamy upon me, I should appeal to one of your colleagues? And he came to my assistance, would you your anger deprive him of his

¹ This was Attalus III. the son of menes II. and Stratonice, and the last king of Pergamus. He was not, however, surnamed *Philopater*, but *Philometor*.

and so it stands in the MS. of St. main.

² Probably from the public hall where he supped with his colleague.

office?" ■ ■ said, ■■ this question so puzzled Tiberius, that with ■ ■ readiness of speech and propriety of assurance, ■ ■ no manner of ■■

■■ ■■ dismissed the assembly for the present. ■■ perceived, however, ■■ the step he had taken in deposing a tribune ■■ ■■ only the patricians but ■■ people too; for by such ■■ precedent he appeared ■■ have robbed that high office ■■ dignity, which till then had been preserved in great security ■■ honour. In ■■ of this reflection, he called the ■■ together again, ■■ made ■■ speech to them, from which ■■ may not ■■ amiss to give ■■ extract, by way of specimen of the power and strength of ■■ eloquence. "The person of ■■ tribune, I acknowledge, ■■ sacred ■■ inviolable, because he is consecrated to the people, ■■ takes their interests under his protection. But when he deserts those interests, and becomes an oppressor of the people, ■■ ■■ retrenches their privileges, and takes away their liberty of voting, by ■■ ■■ he deprives himself, for he no longer keeps to ■■ intention ■■ his employment. Otherwise, if a tribune should demolish the capitol, and burn the docks and naval stores, his person could ■■ be touched. A ■■ who should do such things as those might still be ■■ tribune, though a vile one; but he who diminishes the privileges of the people ceases to be a tribune of the people. Does it ■■ shock you to think that a tribune should be able to imprison ■■ consul, and ■■ people not have it in their power to deprive ■■ tribune of his authority, when he uses it against those who gave it? For the tribunes, ■■ well as the consuls, are elected by the people. Kingly government seems to comprehend all authority in itself, and kings ■■ consecrated with the most awful ceremonies; yet the citizens expelled Tarquin when his administration became iniquitous, and, for the ■■ of one man, the ancient government, under whose auspices Rome was erected, ■■ entirely abolished. What ■■ there in Rome ■■ sacred and venerable ■■ the vestal virgins who keep the perpetual fire? Yet if any of them transgress the rules of her order, she is buried alive. For they who are guilty ■■ impiety against the gods lose that sacred character which they ■■ only for the sake of the gods. ■■ ■■ tribune who injures ■■ people ■■ be no longer sacred and inviolable ■■ the people's account. He destroys that power in which alone ■■ strength lay. ■■ is just for him ■■ be invested with the tribunitial authority by ■■ majority of tribes, is it ■■ more just for him to be deposed by ■■ suffrages of them ■■ What is ■■ sacred and inviolable than the offerings in ■■ temples of the gods? yet none pretends to hinder the people from making ■■ of them, or ■■ ing them wherever they please. And, indeed, that the tribune's office ■■ inviolable ■■ unremoveable, appears from hence, ■■ ■■ have voluntarily laid it down, or been discharged ■■ their own request." These ■■ ■■ of Tiberius's defence.

His friends, however, being ■■ of the ■■ ■■ ■■ ■■ ■■, ■■ the combination to destroy him, ■■ ■■ opinion ■■ he ought ■■ ■■ interest ■■ ■■ ■■ tribuneship continued ■■ ■■

Capitol and desired him to make haste, for (they him) everything went there according his wish.

At first, indeed, there was a most promising appearance. the assembly him at a distance, they expressed their joy in the loudest acclamations; his approach they received him with utmost cordiality, and formed a circle about him keep all strangers off. Mutius then began to call the tribes, order to business; but nothing could be done in the usual form, by of the disturbance made by the populace, who pressing forward. Meantime Fulvius¹ Flaccus, a senator, got upon an eminence, and, knowing he could not be heard, made a sign with his hand that he had something say Tiberius in private. Tiberius having ordered the people to make way, Flaccus with much difficulty got him, and informed him, "That those of the landed interest had applied to the consul, while the was sitting, and, as they could not bring that magistrate into their views, they had resolved despatch Tiberius themselves, and for that purpose had armed a number of their friends and slaves."

Tiberius communicated this intelligence to those about him, than they tucked up their gowns, seized the halberds with which the sergeants kept off the crowd, broke them, and took the pieces to ward against any assault that might be made. Such as were a distance, much surprised at this incident, asked what the reason might be; and Tiberius finding they could not hear him, touched his head with his hand, signify the danger he was in. His adversaries, seeing this, ran to the senate, and informed them that Tiberius demanded the diadem; alleging that gesture as proof of it.

This raised a great commotion. Nasica called upon the consul defend the commonwealth, and destroy the tyrant. The consul mildly answered, "That he would not begin to use violence, nor would he put any citizen death who was not legally condemned; but, if Tiberius should either persuade or force the people to decree anything contrary the constitution, he would take to annul it," upon which, Nasica started up, and said, "Since the consul gives up his country, let all who choose to support the laws follow me." saying, he covered his head with the skirt of his robe, and then advanced the Capitol. Those who followed him wrapped each his gown about his hand and made their way through the crowd. Indeed, account of their superior quality, they met with resistance; the contrary, the people trampled on one another get out of their way. Their attendants had brought clubs and bludgeons with them from home, and the patricians themselves seized feet of benches which the populace had broken in their flight. Thus armed, they made towards Tiberius, knocking such as stood before him. These being killed dispersed, Tiberius likewise fled. One of his enemies laid on his gown; he let continued his flight in under garment.

¹ Not Flaccus, as it is in the printed text.

Crassus, ■ relation of the Gracchi ; for Caius Gracchus had married ■ daughter Licinia. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, says, ■ was not ■ daughter of Crassus, but of that Brutus who ■ honoured with a triumph for his conquests ■ Lusitania ; but ■ give it ■ the former.

Nevertheless, the people ■ much concerned at ■ loss of Tiberius, ■ it ■ plain that they only waited for ■ opportunity of revenge. Nasica ■ now threatened with ■ impeachment. The senate, therefore, dreading the consequence, ■ him into Asia, though there ■ need of him there. For the people, whenever they ■ him, did not suppress their resentment in the least : on the contrary, with ■ the violence that hatred could suggest, they called him an execrable wretch, ■ tyrant who ■ ■ the holiest and ■ awful temple in Rome, with the blood of a magistrate, whose person ought to have been sacred and inviolable.

For this ■ Nasica privately quitted Italy, though by his ■ he ■ obliged to attend ■ principal sacrifices, for ■ chief pontiff. Thus he wandered from place to place in ■ foreign country, and after ■ while died at Pergamos. Nor is it to be wondered that the people had so unconquerable ■ aversion to Nasica, since Scipio Africanus himself, who seems to have been ■ of the greatest favourites of the Romans, as well ■ to have had great right to their affection, ■ near forfeiting all the kind regards of the people, because when the news of Tiberius's death was brought to Numantia, he expressed himself in that verse of Homer—

So perish all ■ in such crimes ■ !

Afterwards Caius and Fulvius asked him in an assembly of the people, what he thought of the death of Tiberius, and by his answer he ■ them to understand that he was far from approving of ■ proceedings. Even after this, ■ commons interrupted him when he spoke ■ public, though they ■ offered him ■ such ■ before ; and, ■ the other hand, he scrupled not ■ them ■ very severe language.

CAIUS GRACCHUS.

WHETHER it ■ that Caius Gracchus ■ afraid of ■ enemies, ■ wanted ■ make them more obnoxious to the people, ■ left the forum ■ kept close in his own house ; ■ who ■ either sensible how much his family ■ reduced, ■ who intended to make public business ■ his object. Inasmuch ■ some scrupled ■ to affirm that he disapproved and even detested ■ brother's administration. He was, indeed, ■ very young, ■ being ■ old as Tiberius by nine years ; and Tiberius at his death was ■ quite thirty. However, ■ short time ■ appeared ■

1 In Minerva's speech to Jupiter. Odyss. lib. 1.

an aversion, only to idleness and effeminacy, but peran avarice. And he improved his powers of oratory, as if he considered them wings on which he rise the great of state. These circumstances showed that would not long continue inactive.

In the defence of one of his friends named Vettius, he exerted much eloquence, that the people beyond expression, borne away with the transports of enthusiasm. On this occasion he showed that other more than children in comparison. The nobility their former apprehensions renewed, they began to take among themselves to prevent the advancement of Caius to the tribunitial power.

happened fall his to attend Orestes, the consul in Sardinia in capacity of questor. This gave his enemies great pleasure. Caius, however, was not uneasy the event; of military turn, and had good talents for the as for the bar. Besides, under apprehension about taking a share in the administration, or of appearing upon the *rostra*, and the time he knew that he could not resist the importunities of people or his friends. For these reasons he thought himself happy in the opportunity of going abroad.

It is opinion, that of his accord he became a violent demagogue, and that he was much more studious than Tiberius make himself popular. that not the truth. On the contrary, it to have been rather necessity than choice that brought him upon the public stage. For Cicero the orator relates, that when Caius avoided all offices in the state, and had taken a resolution live quiet, his brother appeared to him in a dream, and thus addressed him, "Why lingerest thou, Caius? There is alternative. The fates have decreed both the pursuit of life, and the death, in vindicating the rights of the people."

In Sardinia, Caius gave a noble specimen of every virtue, distinguishing himself greatly among the other young Romans, only in operations against the enemy, and in acts of justice such submitted, but in his respectful and obliging behaviour the general. In temperance, in simplicity of diet, and love of labour, excelled even the veterans.

There followed a and sickly winter Sardinia, general demanded of the cities clothing for the. But they sent deputation Rome to solicit exemption from burden. The listened their request, and ordered general take some other method. As he could not think of withdrawing his demands, and the soldiers suffered much in the meantime, Caius applied the in person, and prevailed with them Romans a voluntary supply of clothing. News of this being brought to Rome, and the whole looking like a prelude attempts popularity, the senate were greatly it.

Orestes was consul
Lepidus the year of

Rome 627. Caius went
into Sardinia at the age of 27.

bunes, whom that people given scurrilous language ; and they thought capital punishment enough for Caius Veturius, because alone did make way for a tribune who passing through the forum. you suffered Tiberius despatched with bludgeons before your eyes, and dead body to dragged from Capitol through the middle of the city, in order be thrown into river. of his friends, too, into their hands, put to death without form of trial. Yet, by the custom of our country, if any person under a prosecution for capital crime appear, officer was sent his door in the morning, to him by sound of trumpet, and the judges would pass before so public citation. So tender our ancestors in any where the life of a citizen concerned."

Having prepared the people by such speeches (for his voice strong enough to be heard by so great a multitude) he proposed two laws. One was, "That if the people deposed any magistrate, he should from that time be incapable of bearing any public office:" the other, "That if any magistrate should banish citizen without a legal trial, the people should be authorized to take cognisance of that offence." The first of these laws plainly referred to Marcus Octavius, whom Tiberius had deprived of the tribuneship ; and the second to Popilius, who, in his prætorship, had banished the friends of Tiberius. In consequence of the latter, Popilius, afraid to stand trial, went out of Italy. The other bill Caius dropped, oblige, he said, his mother Cornelia, who interposed in behalf of Octavius. The people were perfectly satisfied ; for they honoured Cornelia, not only on account of her children, but of her father. They afterwards erected a statue to her with this inscription :

CORNELIA MOTHER THE GRACCHI.

There several extraordinary expressions of Caius Gracchus handed down concerning his mother. To of her enemies he said, "Darest thou pretend to reflect Cornelia the mother of Tiberius?" And that person had spent youth in infamous manner, said, "With what front canst put thyself a footing with Cornelia? Hast thou brought up children as done? Yet all Rome knows that she has lived longer than thou hast without any with men." Such was the keenness of his language : and many expressions equally might be collected out of his writings.

Among the laws which he procured, to increase authority of the people, and lessen that of the senate, related colonising, and dividing public lands among the poor. Another in favour of the army, who now to be clothed at public charge, of their pay, none to all they full years old. A for the benefit of the allies, have same right of voting at elections of Rome. By fourth the markets were regulated,

and the poor enabled to buy bread-corn at a cheaper rate. A fifth related to the courts of judicature, and indeed contributed more than anything to retrench the power of the senate: for, before this, the senators only were judges in all causes, and on that account their body was so formidable to the equestrian order and the people. But he added three hundred knights to the three hundred senators, and decreed that a judicial authority should be equally invested in six hundred.¹ In offering this bill, he exerted himself greatly in respects, but the thing very remarkable: whereas the before him, in all addresses to the people, stood with their faces towards the senate-house and the *comitium*, he then, for the first time, turned the other way, that is to say, towards the forum, and continued to speak in that position ever after. Thus by a small alteration in the posture of his body, he indicated something very great, and, it were, turned the government from an aristocracy to a democratic form: for, by this action, he intimated, that all ought to address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.

As the people not only ratified his law, but empowered him to select the 300 out of the equestrian order for judges, he found himself in a manner possessed of sovereign power. Even the senate in their deliberations were willing to listen to his advice; he never gave them any that was not suitable to their dignity. That wise and moderate decree, for instance, was of his suggesting, concerning the corn which Fabius, when *proprator* in Spain, sent from that country. Caius persuaded the senate to sell the corn, and send the money to the Spanish king; and at the same time to censure Fabius for rendering the Roman government odious and insupportable to the people of that country. This gained him great respect and favour in the provinces.

He procured other decrees for sending out colonies, for making roads, and for building public granaries. In all these he was appointed supreme director, and yet far from thinking much business a fatigue. On the contrary, he applied to the whole with as much activity, and despatched it with as much speed as there had been only one thing for him to attend to; insomuch that they who both hated and feared the senate, were struck with his amazing industry, and the celerity of his operations. The people charmed to him followed by such numbers of architects, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, military men, and men of letters. These he all kindly received; yet amidst his civilities he preserved his dignity, addressing each according to his capacity and station: by which he showed how unjust the censures of those people who represented him as a violent and overbearing man.

¹ The number of all antiquity are against this article. Some say he added the knights and the senators to the judicial power, but vested that power in the knights only, and they

employed it till the consulship of Servilius Cyprian, for the year of Rome six hundred and seventy-seven years. Vol. Asconius, Appian, Livy, and others sufficiently prove this.

For ■ had ■ ■ ■ popular manner in conversation ■ ■ business than in ■ addresses from ■ *rostrum*.

The work that he took most pains with was that of the public roads ; ■ ■ he paid a regard to beauty as well ■ use. They were drawn ■ ■ straight line through the country, and either paved ■ ■ hewn stone, or made of a binding sand, brought thither for that purpose. When ■ ■ with dells or other deep holes made by land-floods, he either filled them up with rubbish, ■ ■ bridges ■ ■ them ; so that being levelled and brought ■ a perfect parallel ■ both sides, they afforded ■ regular and elegant prospect through the whole. Besides, he divided all the road into miles, of ■ eight furlongs each, and set up pillars of stone to mark the divisions. He likewise erected other ■ ■ at proper distances on each side of the way, ■ assist travellers, who rode without servants, ■ ■ their ■ ■

The people extolled his performances, and there was no instance of their affection that he might not have expected. In ■ of his speeches ■ told them, "There ■ one thing in particular which he should ■ ■ a greater favour than all the rest, if they indulged him in it, and if they denied it he would not complain." By this it ■ imagined that he meant the consulship ; and the commons expected that he would desire ■ be consul and tribune at the same time. When ■ day of election of consuls came, and all were waiting with anxiety to see what declaration he would make, he conducted Caius Fannius into the *Campus Martius*, and joined with his friends in the canvass. This greatly inclined the scale on Fannius's side, and he was immediately created consul. Caius too, without the least application, or even declaring himself a candidate, merely through the zeal and affection of the people, ■ appointed tribune the second time.

Finding, however, that the senate avowed their aversion to him, and that the regards of Fannius grew cold, he thought of new laws which might ■ the people in his interest. Such ■ those for sending colonies ■ Tarentum and Capua, and for granting the Latins all the rights and privileges of citizens of Rome. The ■ ■ apprehending that his power would soon become entirely uncontrollable, took ■ new and unheard-of method to draw ■ people from him, by gratifying them in everything, however contrary ■ ■ interests of the state.

Among the colleagues of Caius Gracchus there was one named Livius Drusus ; a man who in birth and education was ■ behind any ■ the Romans, and who in point of eloquence and wealth might vie with the greatest and most powerful ■ of his time. To him the nobility applied ; exhorting him ■ ■ himself up against Caius, and join them in opposing him ; ■ in the way of force, ■ in anything ■ might offend the commons, but in directing all ■ measures ■ please them, and granting them things which ■ would have been ■ honour ■ refuse at ■ hazard of their ■ ■ ■ ■ ■

Drusus agreed to list in the service of the senate, and to apply all

power of his office to their views. He therefore proposed laws which had nothing in them either honourable or advantageous to the community. His sole view was to outdo Caius in flattery and pleasing the multitude, and for this purpose he contended with the comedian upon a stage. Thus the people plainly discovered, that he was not so much the measures of Caius, the man, they were with, and that they were resolved to take every method to humble or destroy him. For when he procured a decree sending out two colonies only, which were to consist of the deserving citizens, they accused him of ingratiating himself by undue methods with the plebeians : but when Drusus sent out twelve, and selected 300 of the best of the people, they patronised the whole scheme. When Caius divided the public lands among the poor citizens, on condition that they should contribute a small sum into the treasury, they inveighed against him as a flatterer of the populace ; but Drusus had their praise for discharging the lands of that acknowledgment. Caius procured the Latins the privilege of voting as citizens of Rome, and the patricians offended ; Drusus, on the contrary, supported by them in a law for exempting the Latin soldiers from being flogged, though upon service, for any misdemeanour. Meantime Drusus asserted, in all his speeches, that the senate, in their great regard for the commons, put him upon proposing such advantageous decrees. This was the only good thing in his manœuvres ; for by these the people became better affected to the senate. Before they had suspected and hated the leaders of that body ; but Drusus appeased their resentment, and removed their aversion, by assuring them, that the patricians were the first movers of all these popular laws.

What contributed most to satisfy the people as to the sincerity he had regard, and the purity of his intentions, was that Drusus, in his edicts, appeared not to have the least view to his own interest ; for he employed others as commissioners for planting colonies ; and if there was an want of money, he would have no concern with it himself : whereas Caius chose to preside in the greatest and most important matters of that kind. Rubrius, one of his colleagues, having procured an order for rebuilding and colonising Carthage, which had been destroyed by Scipio, it was the lot of Caius to execute that commission, and in pursuance thereof he sailed for Africa. Drusus took advantage of his absence to gain ground upon him, and to establish himself in the favour of the people. To lay an information against Fulvius he thought would be very conducive to this end.

Fulvius was a particular friend of Caius, and his assistant in the distribution of the lands. At the same time he was a factious man, known to be upon ill terms with the senate. Others, the patricians, suspected him of raising commotions among the allies, and of privately exciting the Italians to revolt. These things, indeed, he said without evidence or proof ; but Fulvius himself strengthened the report by his unpeaceable and unsalutary conduct. Caius, as an acquaintance, came in to

██████ of ██████ dislike, and this was one of the principal things ██████ brought ██████ his ruin.

Besides, when Scipio Africanus died without any previous sickness, and there appeared marks of violence upon his body, the people laid it on the charge of Fulvius, who was his avowed enemy, and had that very day abused him from the *rostrum*. Nor was Caius himself unsuspected. Yet so execrable a crime as this, committed against the first and greatest man in Rome, escaped with impunity; nay, it was not even inquired into: for the people prevented any cognisance of it from being taken, out of fear for Caius, lest upon a strict inquisition he should be found accessory to the murder.

While Caius was employed in Africa in the re-establishment of Carthage, of which he changed the name to *Junonia*,¹ he was interrupted by several inauspicious omens. The staff of the first standard broken, between the violent efforts of the wind it lay away, and those of the ensign to hold it. Another storm of wind blew the sacrifices from the altars, and bore them beyond the bounds marked out for the city; and the wolves came and seized the marks themselves, and carried them to a great distance. Caius, however, brought everything under good regulations in the space of twenty days, and then returned to Rome, where he understood that Fulvius had pressed by Drusus, and affairs demanded his presence. For Lucius Opimius,² who was of the patrician party and very powerful in the senate, had lately been unsuccessful in his application for the consulship, through the opposition of Caius, and his support of Fannius; but now his interest greatly strengthened, and it was thought he would be chosen the following year. It was expected too, that the consulship would enable him to ruin Caius, whose interest was already upon the decline. Indeed, by this time the people were cloyed with indulgence; because there were many besides Caius, who flattered them in all the measures of administration, and the people followed them in it with pleasure.

At his [] he removed his lodgings from the Palatine Mount [] neighbourhood of the forum. in which he had [] view to popularity; for many of the meanest and indigent of the [] alty dwelt there. After this he proposed the [] of [] laws, in order to their being ratified by the suffrages of the people. As [] populace [] to him from all quarters, the [] persuaded the consul Fannius to command all persons [] depart the city who [] not Romans by birth. Upon this strange and unusual proclamation, that [] of the allies [] friends of [] republic should remain in Rome, or, though citizens, [] permitted [] vote.

1 [redacted] [redacted]
omnibus unum
Porthabits coluissis [redacted]. VIRGINIA
2 [redacted] printed text it is Hostafine,
[redacted] He would ES Opinions: [redacted] he was
[redacted] year following [redacted] Q Father

Maximian, which was the year of Rome 621. Plutarch himself calls him *Optimus* a little after. *Hustitus*, therefore, must be a false reading; and, indeed, one of the MSS. gives us *Optimus* here.

Caius, in turn, published articles of impeachment against the consul, and at the same time declared he would protect the allies, if they would stay. He did not, however, perform this duty. On the contrary, he suffered the consul's lictors to pass away a person before his eyes, who was connected with him by the ties of hospitality, without giving him the least assistance. Whether it was that he feared to show how much his strength was diminished, or (as he alleged) he did not choose to give the sword, who only sought a pretence for it, happened, moreover, to be at Rome with his colleagues. The day when there was a show of gladiators to be exhibited in the people in the forum, and a number of scaffolds caused scaffolds to be erected around the place, in order to let them hire. Caius insisted that they should be taken down, lest the poor might see the exhibition without paying for it. As one of the proprietors regarded his orders, he waited till the night preceding the show, and then, with his own workmen, he demolished the scaffolds. Next day the populace, the place quite clear of them and of course they admired him as a man of superior spirit. But his colleagues were greatly offended at his violent temper and measures. This seems to have been the cause of his miscarriage in his application for a third tribuneship, for, it seems, he had the majority of voices, but his colleagues are said to have procured a fraudulent and unjust election. But that as it may (for it is a matter of some doubt), it is certain that he did not bear his disappointment with patience. But when he saw his adversaries laugh, he told them with too much insolence, "Thou laughest of the Sardonian kind, for they did not perceive how much their laughter was eclipsed by his."

After Opimius was elected consul, he prepared to repeal many of Caius's laws, and to annul his establishment. Carthage, in purpose, provoked him to some act of violence, and to gain an opportunity to destroy him. He bore this insult for some time, but afterwards, at the instigation of his friends, and of Julius in particular, he began to show opposition once again against the consul. Some say, his mother, this time entered the intrigues of the party, and having privately taken strangers into pay, sent them into Rome in the disguise of reapers, and they asserted that these things were enigmatically hinted at in her letters to her. But others say, Cornelia was much displeased at these proceedings.

When the day came which Opimius had set for those laws repealed, both parties early in the morning posted themselves to the

1 It was not easy to see the parody in this expression, as we need not the Sardonian laugh as a voluntary distortion of the muscles of the mouth occasioned by a poisonous plant and persons that died of this poison had a smile on their countenances. Hence it came to signify forced or affected laughter.

but why the laughter of Gracchus's opponents should be called forced or Sardonian because they did not see his superiority it does not appear. It might more properly have been called affected if they did perceive it. Indeed, if every species of unreasonable laughing may be called Sardonian, it will do still.

Capitol ; and after the consul ■■■ sacrificed, Quintus Antullius, ■■■ of his lictors, who was carrying ■■■ the entrails of the victims, ■■■ ■ Fulvius ■■■ friends, "Stand off, ye factious citizens, and make way for honest men." Some add, that, along with ■■■ scurrilous language, ■■■ stretched his naked ■■■ towards them in ■ form that expressed the utmost contempt. They immediately ■■■ Antullius with long styles ■■■ ■ have been made for such a purpose.

The people ■■■ much chagrined at this ■■■ of violence. ■■■ the two chiefs, they made very different reflections upon the event. Caius ■■■ concerned ■■■, and reproached his partizans with having given their enemies the handle they long ■■■ wanted. Opimius rejoiced ■■■ the opportunity, and excited the people to revenge. ■■■ for the present they were parted by ■ heavy rain.

At an early hour next day, the consul assembled the senate, and while he ■■■ addressing them ■■■, ■■■ exposed the corpse of Antullius naked ■■■ a bier without, and, as it ■■■ been previously concerted, carried it through ■■■ forum to the ■■■ house, making loud acclamations all the way. Opimius knew the whole farce ; but pretended ■■■ much surprised. The senate went out, and planting themselves about the corpse, expressed their grief and indignation, ■■■ if some dreadful misfortune had befallen them. This scene, however, excited only hatred and detestation in the breasts of the people, who could not but remember that the nobility had killed Tiberius Gracchus ■■■ the Capitol, though a tribune, and thrown his body into the river ; and yet now, when Antullius, a vile sergeant, who possibly did ■■■ deserve quite so severe a punishment, but by his impertinence had brought it upon himself—when such a hireling lay exposed in the forum, the ■■■ of Rome stood weeping about him, and then attended the wretch ■■■ his funeral ; with ■■■ other view than ■■■ procure the death of the only remaining protector of the people.

On their return to the house, they charge^d Opimius the consul, by a formal decree, to take every possible method for the preservation of the commonwealth, and the destruction of the tyrants. He, therefore, ordered the patricians to arms, and each of the knights ■■■ attend with two servants well armed the ■■■ morning. Fulvius, ■■■ the other hand, prepared himself, and drew together a crowd of people.

Caius, ■■■ returned from the forum, stood ■■■ long time looking upon ■■■ father's statue, and after having given ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ sighs and tears, retired without uttering a word. Many ■■■ plebeians, who ■■■ this, ■■■ moved with compassion ; and, declaring they should be the most dastardly of beings ■■■ they abandoned such ■■■ ■■■ his enemies, repaired ■■■ his house ■■■ guard him, ■■■ passed the night ■■■ ■■■ door. This they ■■■ ■■■ very different manner from the people who attended Fulvius on ■■■ same occasion. These passed their time ■■■ noise ■■■ riot, ■■■ carousing ■■■ empty threats ; Fulvius himself being ■■■ ■■■ man ■■■ ■■■ intoxicated, ■■■ giving in to many expressions ■■■ actions

unsuitable ■■■ years But ■■■ about Caius ■■■ silent, ■■■ of public calamity, and, with a thoughtful regard ■■■ was yet to come, they kept watch and took rest by ■■■

Fulvius slept ■■■ after his wine, that ■■■ was with ■■■ly they awoke him ■■■ break of day Then he ■■■ his company armed themselves with the Gallic spoils which ■■■ brought ■■■ consulship, upon his conquering that people, ■■■ accounted they sallied out, with loud menaces, ■■■ bill As for Caius, he would not arm, but went out in his gown, as if he had been going upon business in the forum, only he had a small dagger under it

At the gate, ■■■ wife threw herself at his feet, ■■■ taking ■■■ of him with ■■■ hand, and of her son with the other, ■■■ thus expressed herself —“ You do ■■■ now leave me, my dear Caius, ■■■ formerly, ■■■ go ■■■ the *vestra*, in capacity of tribune or lawgiver, nor ■■■ I send you ■■■ ■■■ glorious war, where, if ■■■ full ■■■ your share, my distress might ■■■ least have the consolation ■■■ honour You expose yourself ■■■ murderers of Tiberius, unarmed, indeed, ■■■ should go, who had rather suffer than ■■■ any violence, but ■■■ throwing away your life without any advantage to the community Faction reigns, outrage and the sword are the only measures of justice Had your brother fallen before Numantia, the truce would have restored us his body, but ■■■ perhaps I shall have to go a suppliant to some river or the sea, to be shown where your remains may be found For what ■■■ can we have either in the laws or in ■■■ gods after the ■■■ of Tiberius ■■■

When Licinia had poured out these lamentations, Caius disengaged himself ■■■ quietly as he could from her ■■■, and walked ■■■ with his friends in deep silence She caught ■■■ his gown, but ■■■ attempt ■■■ ■■■ ground, and lay a long ■■■ speechless At last her servants, seeing her in that condition, took her up, and carried her to her brother Crassus

Fulvius, when all the party ■■■ assembled, listened ■■■ the advice of Caius, and ■■■ his younger son ■■■ the forum, equipped like ■■■ herald¹ He was a youth of most engaging appearance, and ■■■ approached with great modesty, and tears in his eyes, to propose terms of accommodation to the consul and the ■■■ Many were disposed ■■■ ■■■ the proposal but Opimius said, “The criminals ought ■■■ ■■■ treat by heralds, but come ■■■ ■■■ their submission ■■■ the senate, and surrender themselves ■■■ justice, ■■■ they interceded for mercy” At ■■■ time, ■■■ bade the young ■■■ ■■■ with ■■■ account ■■■ conditions were complied with, ■■■ return at ■■■

Caius ■■■ of opinion that they should go ■■■ endeavour ■■■ concile themselves to the senate ■■■ of the ■■■ acceded ■■■ that ■■■ Fulvius ■■■ his ■■■ with propositions much ■■■ same Opimius, who was ■■■ to begin hostilities, immedi-

¹ Literally, with a caduceus, or herald's wand in his hand

most cruelty was exercised the younger son of Fulvius, borne arms against them, appeared among the combatants, but imprisoned when with proposals of peace, put to after the battle. But neither this, any other in of despotism, sensibly touched the people, as Opimius's building a temple CONCORD. For by that appeared claim honour for what he done, and in triumph in the destruction of many citizens. Somebody, therefore, the night, (this line under the inscription on temple ;

Disced the of

Opimius the first consul who usurped the power of a dictator, condemned 3000 citizens, without any form of justice, beside Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus : though of them been honoured with the consulship and triumph, and the other, both in virtue reputation, was superior to all the men of time.

Opimius vile enough to suffer himself corrupted with money. Going afterwards ambassador to Jugurtha the Numidian, he took a bribe ; and being called to account for it at his return, in a judicial way, he had the mortification to grow old with that infamy upon him. At the same time he hated and execrated by the commons, who through his means had been reduced to an abject condition. *In little time those commons showed how deeply they regretted the Gracchi. They erected their statues in one of the most public parts of the city ; they consecrated the places where they killed, and offered to them all first-fruits according to the season of the year. Nay, many offered daily sacrifices, and paid their devotions there in the temples of the gods.*

Cornelia is reported to have borne all these misfortunes with noble magnanimity, and to have said of the consecrated places in particular, where her lost their lives, " That they merits worthy of them." She took up her residence Misenum, and made alteration in her of living. As many friends, her table always open for the purposes of hospitality. Greeks and other of letters she had always with her, and all the kings in alliance with Rome expressed their regard by sending her presents, and receiving the like civilities in return. made herself very agreeable to her guests by acquainting them many particulars of her father Africanus, and of his of living. But what they admired in her was, that she could speak of without sigh or tear, and their actions and sufferings, she had been giving narrative ancient heroes. Some, therefore, imagined that and the greatness her misfortunes deprived her of her understanding and sensibility. those who were of that opinion rather have wanted understanding themselves, since they knew how noble mind may, by a education, enabled support itself against distress ; and that though in the pursuit of rectitude F may often defeat the purposes of VIRTUE, yet VIRTUE, bearing affliction, can never lose her prerogative.

CAIUS MARIUS.

■ ■ ■ ■ ■ third ■ ■ ■ of Caius Marius, any more than ■ ■ do of Quintus Sertorius who held Spain so long, or of Lucius Mummius who took Corinth. For the surname of *Achaicus* Mummius gained by ■ ■ conquest, ■ ■ Scipio did that of *Africanus*, and Metellus that of *Macedonicus*—Posidonius avails himself chiefly of ■ ■ argument to confute ■ ■ who hold the ■ ■ to be the Roman proper name, Camillus, for instance, Marcellus, Cato : for in that case, those who ■ ■ only ■ ■ names, would have ■ ■ no proper ■ ■ all. But he ■ ■ consider that by this reasoning he robbed the women ■ ■ their names ; for no woman bears the first, which Posidonius supposed ■ ■ proper ■ ■ among the Romans. Of the other names, one was ■ ■ to the whole family, ■ ■ the Pompeii, Manlii, Corneli, in ■ ■ same ■ ■ as with us, the Heraclidae and Pelopidae ; and the other ■ ■ ■ surname given them from something remarkable in their dispositions, their actions, or the form of their bodies, ■ ■ Macrinus, Torquatus, Sylla, which ■ ■ like Mnemon, Grypus, and Callinicus, among the Greeks. But the diversity of customs in this respect leaves much room for farther inquiry."

As to the figure of Marius, we have seen at Ravenna in Gaul ■ ■ statue in marble, which perfectly expressed all that has been said of his ■ ■ and austerity of behaviour. For being naturally robust and warlike, and ■ ■ acquainted with the discipline of the camp than the city, he was fierce and untractable when in authority. It is said that he neither learned to read Greek, ■ ■ would make use of that language on any serious occasion, thinking it ridiculous to bestow time ■ ■ learning the language of a conquered people. And when, after his second triumph, at the dedication ■ ■ a temple, he exhibited shows to the people ■ ■ the Grecian manner,

1 The Romans had usually three names, the *Prænomen*, the *Nomen*, and the *Cognomen*.

The *Prænomen*, as *Anius*, *Caius*, *Decimus*, was ■ ■ proper or distinguishing name between brothers, during ■ ■ time of the republic.

The *Nomen* was the family name answering to the Grecian *patronymia*. ■ ■ ■ ■ ■, the posterity of *Ascius* were called *Asciades*, so the Julian family had that name from *Iulus* or ■ ■ ■ ■ ■. But there were several other things which gave rise to the *Nomen*, as animals, places, and accidents ; for instance, *Porcius*, ■ ■ ■, &c.

The *Cognomen* was originally intended to distinguish the several branches of a family. It was assumed from no certain ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ generally from some particular ■ ■ ■ ■ ■. It became, however, hereditary except it happened to be changed

for a more honourable appellation, as *Macedonicus*, *Africanus*. But it should be well remarked, that under ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ the *Cognomen* was often used as a proper name, and brothers were distinguished by it, as ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ *Vespasiana*, ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ *Flavius*, *Hadrianus*.

As to women, they had anciently their *Prænomen* as well as the men, such as *Cato*, *Lucia*, &c. But ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ they seldom used any other besides the family name, as *Julia*, *Tullia*, and the like. Where there were two sisters in a house, the distinguishing appellations were ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ and minor : if a greater number, *Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia*, &c.

With respect to the men who had only two names, a family might be so mean as not to have gained the *Cognomen* ; ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ there might be so few of the ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ there was no occasion for it to the brothers

he barely entered the theatre and down, and then rose up and departed immediately. Therefore, as Plato used Xenophon, a philosopher, who in a morose and unpolished manner, "Good Xenocrates, sacrifice the Graces," so if any could have persuaded Marius to pay the Grecian Muses and Graces, had brought noble achievements, both in peace, shocking conclusion; he had been led, by unseasonable ambition and insatiable avarice, to split upon the rocks of a savage and cruel age.

His parents were obscure and indigent people, who supported themselves by labour; his father's name was the same with his; his mother called Fulcinia. It was late before he came to Rome, or had any taste of the refinements of the city. In mean time he lived at Cirraccatum¹ a village in the territory of Arpinum; and his manner of living there perfectly rustic, compared with the elegance of polished life; but the time it was temperate, and much resembled that of the ancient Romans.

He made his first campaign against the Celtiberians,² when Scipio Africanus besieged Numantia. It did not escape his general how far he was above the other young soldiers in courage; nor how easily he came into the reformation in point of diet, which Scipio introduced into the army, before almost ruined by luxury and pleasure. It is said also, that he encountered and killed an enemy in the sight of his general; who therefore distinguished him with many marks of honour and respect, one of which was the inviting him to his table. One evening the conversation happened to turn upon the great commanders then in being, some present in the company, either out of complaisance to Scipio, or because he really wanted to be informed, asked, "Where the Romans should find such another general when he was gone?" upon which Scipio, putting his hand on the shoulder of Marius, who sat by him, said, "Here, perhaps." So happy was the genius of both those great men, that the one, while but a youth, gave tokens of his future abilities, and the other from those beginnings could discover the long series of glory which was to follow.

This saying of Scipio's, he told, raised the hopes of Marius, a divine oracle, and the chief thing that animated him to apply himself to affairs of state. By the assistance of Cæcilius Metellus, whose house he had a hereditary dependence, he (117 B.C.) chosen a tribune of the people. In this office he proposed a law for regulating the manner of voting, which tended to lessen the authority of the patricians in matters of judicature. Cotta the consul, therefore, persuaded the people to reject it and cite Marius to account of his conduct. Such a decree being made, Marius, when he entered the senate, showed the embar-

¹ A corruption of *Circesium*. Pliny tells us the inhabitants of Circe were called *Maritani*, undoubtedly from Marius their townsman, who had distinguished

himself in an extraordinary manner. *Plin. lib. ii. c. 3.*

² In the year of Olympiad 183 a.d.

rassment of a young man advanced ■ office without having first distinguished himself, but assuming beforehand the elevation which ■ future actions ■ give him, he threatened to send Cotta ■ prison, ■ he did ■ revoke the decree. Cotta turning to Metellus, and asking his opinion, Metellus rose up and voted with the ■ sul.—Hereupon Marius called in ■ lictor, and ordered him ■ take Metellus into custody. Metellus appealed to the other tribunes, but ■ ■ of them lent him any assistance, the senate gave way, and repealed their decree. Marius, highly distinguished by this victory, ■ immediately from the ■ ■ ■ forum, and ■ law confirmed by the people.

From ■ time ■ passed for a man of inflexible resolution, not ■ influenced by ■ respect of persons, and consequently ■ that would prove ■ bold defender of the people's privileges against ■ ■ ■ But this opinion ■ altered by ■ taking quite a ■ ■ part.—For a law being proposed concerning the distribution of corn, he strenuously opposed the plebeians, and carried it against them. By which action he gained equal ■ from both parties, as a person incapable of serving either, against the public advantage.

When his tribuneship was expired, he stood candidate for the office of chief ædile. For there are two offices of ædiles; the ■ called *curulis*, from the chair with crooked feet, in which the magistrate sits while he despatches business; the other of ■ degree much inferior is called the *plebeian ædile*. The ■ honourable ædiles are first chosen, and then the people proceed the same day to the election of the other. When Marius found he could not carry the first, he dropped his pretensions there, and immediately applied for the second. But as this proceeding of his betrayed ■ disagreeable and importunate obstinacy, he miscarried in that also. Yet though he was twice baffled in his application in ■ day (which ■ happened to any ■ but himself,) he ■ not at all discouraged. For, ■ long after, he stood for the prætorship, and ■ near being rejected again. ■ was, indeed, returned last of all, and then was accused of bribery. What contributed ■ to the suspicion, was, ■ of Cassius Sabaco being seen between the rails, among the electors; for Sabaco was an intimate friend of Marius. He ■ summoned, therefore, by the judges; and being interrogated upon the point, he said, "That the heat having made him very thirsty, he asked for cold water; upon which his ■ brought him ■ cup, and withdrew ■ as he ■ drank." Sabaco ■ expelled the ■ by the ■ censors,¹ and ■ thought ■ deserved that mark of infamy, ■ having been guilty either of falsehood or intemperance. Caius Herennius was also cited as a witness against Marius; but ■ alleged, that it was ■ customary ■ pat- ■ (so ■ Romans call protectors) to give evidence ■ their clients, and that the law excused them ■ that obligation. ■ judges ■ going to admit ■ plea, when ■ ■ ■ opposed

¹ Probably he had one of his slaves to vote among the freemen.

it, Herennius, that when he was first created a magistrate, he was to be a client. But he was not altogether for or is not every office that frees clients and their posterity from their patrons, but only those magistracies the law gives a consul. Marius, however, during his first days of trial, found that matters against him, his judges being very unfavourable, yet, at last, the law proved equal, and he was acquitted beyond expectation.

In his pretorship he did nothing to himself, but at the expiration of this office, the farther Spain falling to his lot, he said he had cleared himself of robbers. That province yet uncivilised and savage in its manners, and the Spaniards thought there was nothing dishonourable in robbery. All his share in Rome, he deemed to have his share in the administration, but neither riches nor eloquence to recommend him, though these were the instruments by which the great of those times governed the people. His high spirit, however, his untiring industry, and plain manner of living, recommended him so effectually to the commonalty, that he gained offices, and by offices power, so that he was thought worthy the alliance of the Cæsars, and married Julia of that illustrious family. Cæsar, who afterwards raised himself to such eminence, was his nephew, and his account of his relation to Marius, showed himself very solicitous for his honour.

Marius, along with his temperance, was possessed of great fortitude in enduring pain. There was an extraordinary proof of this, in his bearing an operation in surgery. Having both his legs full of wens, and being troubled at the deformity, he determined to put himself in the hands of a surgeon. He would not be bound, but stretched out one of his legs to the knife, and without motion or groan, bore the inexpressible pain of the operation in silence and with a settled countenance. When the surgeon was going to begin with the other leg, he would not suffer him, saying, "I see the pain is worth the pain."

About this time Cæcilius Metellus, the consul, being appointed the chief command in the war against Jugurtha, took Marius with him to Africa as one of his lieutenants. Marius, finding an opportunity for great actions and glorious toils, took no care, like his colleagues, to contribute to the reputation of Metellus, but directed his views to his service, but concluding that he was called to the lieutenantship, not by Metellus but by Fortune, who opened him an easy way and a noble theatre for great achievements, exerted all his powers. That, in presenting many critical occasions, he neither declined the difficult service, nor thought to serve beneath him. Thus surpassing his equals in prudence, foresight, and contesting it with the common soldiers in abstemiousness and labour, he entirely gained their affections. For he is

1 Q Cæcilius Metellus was consul with M Junius Brutus in the year of Olympiad 167, or 166. He then engaged

him he acquired the surname of M small.

no small consolation ■ any one who is obliged ■ work, ■ another voluntarily ■ ■ his labour; since ■ to ■ the constraint. *There is not, indeed, ■ agreeable spectacle to a Roman soldier, than ■ of his general eating ■ dry bread which he eats, or lying on ■ ordinary bed, ■ assisting him in drawing a trench ■ throwing up a bulwark.* For ■ soldier does not ■ much admire those officers who let him share in their honour ■ their money, as those who will partake with him ■ labour ■ danger; and he is more attached to ■ that will assist him in ■ work, than to one who will indulge him in idleness.

By these steps Marius gained the hearts of the soldiers; ■ glory, ■ influence, his reputation, spread through Africa, and ■ tended ■ Rome: the men under his command ■ their friends ■ home, that the only ■ of putting an end ■ in those parts, would be to elect Marius consul. This occasioned no small anxiety ■ Metellus, but what distressed him ■ ■ of Turpilius. This ■ and his family had long been retainers ■ that of Metellus, and he attended ■ in that ■ in the character ■ of the artificers, but being, through his interest, appointed governor of the large town of Vacca, his humanity to the inhabitants, and the unsuspecting openness of his conduct, gave them ■ opportunity of delivering up the place to Jugurtha.¹ Turpilius, however, suffered ■ injury in his person; for the inhabitants, having prevailed upon Jugurtha ■ spare him, dismissed him in safety. On this account he was accused of betraying the place. Marius, who ■ one of the council of war, was not only severe upon himself, but stirred up most of the other judges; so that it ■ carried against the opinion of Metellus, and much against his will he passed sentence of death upon him. A little after, the accusation appeared a false one; and all the other officers sympathised with Metellus, who ■ overwhelmed ■ sorrow, while Marius, far from dissembling his joy, declared the thing ■ his doing, and ■ ashamed to acknowledge in ■ companies, "That he had lodged an avenging fury in the breast of Metellus, who would ■ fail ■ punish him for having put ■ the hereditary friend of his family."

They ■ became open enemies; and ■ day when Marius was by, ■ told, that Metellus said, by way of insult, "You think then, my good friend, to leave us, and ■ home, ■ solicit ■ consulship: would you ■ be contented ■ stay and ■ consul with this son of mine?" The son of Metellus was ■ very young. Notwithstanding this, Marius still kept applying for leave ■ ■ and Metellus found out ■ pretences for delay. At last, when there wanted only twelve days to the election, he ■ him. Marius ■ a long journey from the camp to Utica, but he despatched it in ■ days and a night. At ■ arrival on ■ ■ sacrifice ■ embarked; ■ the diviner ■ to ■ him, "That Heaven announces ■ superior to all his

¹ They put the Roman garrison to the sword.

hopes." [] with this promise, he [] sail and having a fair wind, [] [] [] four days. The people immediately [] pressed their inclination for him, [] being introduced by one [] their tribunes, [] brought many false charges against Metellus, [] order [] secure [] consularship for [], [] at [] time [] to kill Jugurtha or to take him alive.

[] [] elected with great applause, and immediately began his levies, [] which [] observed neither law nor custom, for [] [] many [] persons, [] even slaves¹. The generals [] were before [] had not admitted such as these, but entrusted only persons of property with arms as with other honours, considering that property as a pledge to the public for their behaviour. Nor [] this [] only [] thing [] Marius. His bold speeches, accompanied with insolence and ill manners, gave the patricians great []. For he scrupled not [] say, "That [] had taken the [] [] a prey from the effeminacy of [] high born [] the rich, [] that he boasted [] [] people of his [] wounds, [] [] of others or monuments of the dead." He took frequent occasion, too, [] [] Bestia and Albinus, generals who had been mostly unfortunate in Africa, [] [] of [] families, but unfit for war, and consequently unsuccessful through [] of capacity. Then [] would ask [] people, "Whether they did [] think that the [] of those men would have wished rather to [] a posterity like him, since they themselves did [] rise to glory by [] high birth, but by their virtue and great actions." These things he [] not out of mere vanity and arrogance or needlessly to embroil himself with the nobility, but he [] the people took pleasure [] seeing the senate insulted, and they measured the greatness of a man's mind by [] insolence of his language, and therefore, [] gratify them, he spared [] the greatest men in the [].

Upon his arrival in Africa, Metellus was quite [] with grief [] resentment, [] think [] when [] had in a manner [] [] war, and there remained nothing to take but [] [] of Jugurtha, Marius, who had raised himself merely by his ingratitude towards him, should [] to snatch [] both his victory and triumph. Unable, therefore, to bear the [] of him, he retired, and left his [] Rutilius to deliver up [] [] [] Marius, [] before the end of the war the divine vengeance overtook Marius. For Sylla robbed him of the glory of his [] exploits, as he had done []. I shall briefly relate here the [] of that transac-

Bocchus, [] of [] upper Numidia, [] father-in-law to Jugurtha, [] [] him, however, very [] [] [] the [] pretending [] he detested his perfidiousness, while he really [] the increase of his power. But when [] became a fugitive and [] wanderer, and [] reduced [] [] necessity of applying [] Boc-

1 [] does not say he enlisted slaves but captives whom, such as having no

estates had only their arms entered in the registers

his resource, that prince received him rather as a suppliant than as a son-in-law. When he was in his hands he proceeded public to intercede with him in his behalf, alleging in his letters, that he would give up, but defend him to the last. He gave him time in private intending to betray him, he sent for Lucius Sylla, who was quaestor to Marius, he had done Bocchus many services during the war. When Sylla came to him, finding in his honour, the barbarian began to repent, and often changed his mind, deliberating for many days whether he should deliver Jugurtha, or retain Sylla too. At last, adhering to the treachery he had conceived, he put Jugurtha, alive, into the hands of Sylla.

Hence the seeds of that violent and implacable quarrel, which almost ruined the Roman empire. For many, out of envy of Marius, were willing to attribute this success to Sylla only; and Sylla himself made a seal to be made, which represented Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha to him. This seal he always wore, and constantly sealed his letters with it; by which he highly provoked Marius, who was naturally ambitious, and could not endure a rival in glory. Sylla was instigated to this by the enemies of Marius, who ascribed the beginning of the most considerable actions of Marius to him, and the last and finishing stroke to Sylla: that so the people might no longer admire and remain attached to Marius as the most accomplished of commanders.

The danger, however, that approached Italy from the west, dispersed all the envy, the hatred, and the calumnies, which had been raised against Marius. The people were in want of an experienced commander, and searching for an able pilot to sit at the helm, that the commonwealth might bear up against so dreadful a storm, found that no one of an opulent or noble family would stand for the consulship; and therefore (103 B.C.) elected Marius, though absent. They had no sooner received news that Jugurtha was taken, than reports were spread of an invasion from the Teutones and the Cimbri. And though the account of the number and strength of their armies seemed at first incredible, it afterwards appeared short of the truth. For 3000 well-armed warriors upon the march, and the old children, whom they brought along with them, said to much. This multitude wanted places on which they might subsist, and cities wherein to settle; as they had heard the Celts, before them, had expelled the Tuscans, and possessed themselves of the best part of Italy.¹ As for these, who now hovered like a cloud over Gaul and Italy, they were known who they were,² whence they came, and account of their small com-

¹ In the time of Tarquinius Priscus.

² The Cimbri were descended from the ancient Germans or Celts: (Cimri or Cimbri) is only a harsher pronunciation of Germani. They were in all probability the most ancient people of Germany. They gave their name to the Cimbric Chersonesus, which was a kind of peninsula extending from the mouth of

the river Elbe into the north sea. They were all supposed the same with the Cimberians that inhabited the coast about the Fælus promontory: which is highly probable, both from the similarity of their names, and from the descendants of Gomer having spread themselves over all that northern tract.

merce which they [] with the [] of the world, and the length [] way they had marched. [] was conjectured, indeed, from [] largeness of their [], and [] blueness of their eyes, as well as [] Germans call [] *cimbri*, [] they [] some [] those German nations who dwell by the Northern Sea.

Some assert, [] the country of the Celta is of such [] extent, [] it stretches from the Western ocean and most northern climes, [] lake Marotis eastward, and that part of Scythia which borders upon Pontus : that there the two nations mingle, and thence issue ; [] all at once, [] at all seasons, but in the spring of every year : that, by [] of these annual supplies, they [] gradually opened themselves [] way [] the greatest part of the European continent ; and that, though they [] distinguished by different [] according [] their tribes, yet their whole body is comprehended under [] general [] of Cello-Scythia.

Others say, they [] [] part of the Cimmerians, well known [] the ancient Greeks : and that this small part quitting their native soil, [] being expelled by the Scythians on [] of some sedition, passed from the Palus Mæotis into Asia, under the conduct of Lygdamis their chief. But that the greater and more warlike part dwell in the extremities of the earth near the Northern Sea. These inhabit [] country [] dark and woody that the sun [] seldom seen, by reason of the many high and spreading trees, which reach inward as far as the Hercynian forest. They are under that part of the heavens, where the elevation of the pole is such, that by reason [] the declination of the parallels, it makes almost a vertical point to the inhabitants ; and their day and night are of such [] length, that they serve to divide the year into two equal parts : which gave occasion to the fiction of H[] concerning the infernal regions.

Hence, therefore, these barbarians, who [] into Italy, first issued ; being anciently called Cimmerii, afterwards Cimbri ; [] the appellation [] at all from their manners. But these things [] rather on conjecture than historical certainty. Most historians, however, [] that their numbers, instead of being less, [] rather greater, than we have related. As to their courage, their spirit, and the force and vivacity with which they made an impression, [] may compare them [] a devouring flame. Nothing could resist their impetuosity ; [] that [] in their way, [] trodden down, [] driven before them [] cattle. Many respectable armies [] generals employed by [] Romans [] guard the Transalpine Gaul, [] shamefully routed ; and the feeble resistance they made [] the [] efforts of [] barbarians, was the chief thing that drew them towards Rome. For, having beaten [] they met, and loaded themselves [] plunder, they determined to settle nowhere, till they [] destroyed Rome, and laid waste [] Italy.

The Romans, alarmed from all quarters with this news, [] [] command, and elected [] a second [] consul. It

was, indeed, unconstitutional ■ any one ■ be chosen ■ was ■, or who had ■ waited the regular time between a ■ ■ second consulship ; but the people overruled all that ■ ■ against him. They ■ considered, that this ■ ■ the first instance in which the law had given ■ to the public utility ; ■ ■ the present occasion less urgent than that, when, contrary ■ law,¹ they ■ Scipio consul ; ■ then they ■ ■ anxious for ■ safety of their ■ city, but only desirous of destroying Carthage. These reasons prevailing, Marius returned with his army from Africa, and entering upon ■ consulship on ■ first of January, which the ■ ■ reckon the beginning of their year, led up his triumph the same day. Jugurtha, ■ a captive, was a spectacle as agreeable ■ ■ Romans, ■ it ■ beyond their expectation ; no ■ having ■ imagined that the ■ could be brought ■ a period ■ ■ alive : ■ various ■ the character of that man, that ■ knew how ■ accommodate himself ■ ■ sorts of fortune, and through all ■ subtlety there ■ a vein of courage and spirit. It is said, that when he ■ led before the car of the conqueror, he lost his ■. After the triumph he ■ thrown into prison, where, whilst they were in haste to strip him, some tore his robe off his back, and others catching eagerly ■ ■ pendants, pulled off the tips of his ears with them. When he was thrust down naked into the dungeon, all wild and confused, he said with a frantic smile, "Heavens! how cold is ■ bath of yours!" There struggling for six days with extreme hunger, and to the last hour labouring for the preservation of life, he came ■ such an end as his crimes deserved. There were carried (we are told) in this triumph, 3007 pounds of gold, 5775 of silver bullion, and of silver coin 17028 drachmas.

After the solemnity was over, Marius assembled the senate in the Capitol, where, either through inadvertency or gross insolence, ■ entered in his triumphal robe : but soon perceiving that the ■ was offended, ■ ■ and put ■ his ordinary habit, and then ■ turned ■ his place.

When he ■ out with the army, he trained his soldiers to labour while upon the road, accustoming them to long and tedious marches, and compelling every ■ to carry his ■ baggage, and provide his ■ victuals. So that afterwards laborious people, who executed readily and without murmuring whatever they ■ ordered, ■ called *Marius's mules*. Some, indeed, give another reason for ■ proverbial saying. They say, that when Scipio besieged Numantia, he chose to inspect, ■ only the arms and horses, but the very mules and waggons, that all might be in readiness and good order ; ■ which occasion Marius brought ■ ■ horse ■ ■ condition, and his ■ ■ in better case, and stronger and gentler than ■ ■ others. The general, much pleased with Marius's beasts, often made mention of them ; and hence those who by way ■ raillery praised a drudging patient ■ ■ him Marius's mule.

¹ ■ was elected consul before he was thirty years old, though the common age required ■ the candidate was forty-

two. Indeed, the people dispensed with it in other instances besides this.

■ this occasion, it ■ ■ very fortunate circumstance for Marius, that the barbarians, turning their course, like ■ reflux of the tide, ■ invaded Spain. For this gave him time to strengthen ■ by exercise, and to raise and confirm their courage ; and what ■ still of greater importance, to show them what ■ ■ His severe behaviour, and inflexibility in punishing, when it ■ ■ accustomed them ■ mind their conduct and be obedient, appeared both just and salutary. When they ■ a little used to ■ hot and violent spirit, ■ the harsh tone of his voice, and the fierceness of ■ countenance, they ■ longer considered him ■ terrible to themselves but to the enemy. Above all, the soldiers ■ charmed with his integrity in judging ; and this contributed ■ a little ■ procure Marius ■ third consulate. Besides, the barbarians ■ expected in ■ spring, and ■ people ■ not willing ■ them under any other general. They did not, however, ■ so soon ■ they ■ looked for, and the year expired without his getting ■ sight of them. The time of ■ ■ election coming on, and his colleague being dead, Marius left the command of the army ■ Manius Aquilius, and went himself ■ Rome. Several persons of great merit stood for the consulate ; but Lucius Saturninus, a tribune who led the people, being gained by Marius, in all his speeches exhorted them to choose him consul. Marius, for his part, desired to be excused, pretending that he did not ■ the office : whereupon Saturninus called him a traitor to his country, who deserted the command in such time of danger. It was not difficult ■ perceive that Marius dissembled, and that the tribune acted ■ bungling part under him ; yet the people considering that the present juncture required both ■ capacity and good fortune, created him consul a fourth time, and appointed Lutatius Catullus his colleague, a man much esteemed by the patricians, and ■ unacceptable to the commons.

Marius, being informed of the enemy's approach, passed the Alps with the ■ expedition ; and having marked ■ his camp by the river Rhone, fortified it and brought into it ■ large supply of provisions : that the want of necessaries might never compel him to fight ■ a disadvantage. But as the carriage of provisions by sea ■ tedious and very expensive, he found ■ way to make it easy and very expeditious. The mouth of the Rhone ■ ■ that time choked up with mud and sand, which the beating of the ■ had lodged there ; so that ■ was very dangerous, if ■ impracticable, for vessels of burden ■ enter it. Marius, therefore, set his army, ■ quite ■ leisure, ■ work there ; and having caused ■ cut ■ made capable of receiving large ships, he turned a great part of the river into it ; thus drawing ■ ■ a coast, where the opening to ■ sea ■ easy and ■ This ■ still retains his name.

The barbarians dividing themselves into two bodies, it ■ ■ lot ■ the Cimbri to march ■ upper way through Noricum against Catullus, and ■ force that ■ ; ■ the Teutones and Ambrones took ■ road through Liguria along the sea-coast, in order to reach Marius. The Cimbri spent some time in preparing for their march ;

but Teutones and Ambrones set immediately, and pushed forward with great expedition; so that they soon traversed the intermediate country, and presented the view of the Romans an incredible number of enemies, terrible in their aspect, and in their voice and shouts of different from all other men. They spread themselves a vast extent of ground near Marius, and when they had encamped, they challenged him to battle.

The consul, for part, regarded them not, but kept his soldiers within the trenches, rebuking the vanity and rashness of those who wanted to be in action, and calling them traitors to their country. He told them, "Their ambition should not be for triumphs and trophies, but to dispel the dreadful storm that hung them, and Italy from destruction." These things he said privately to his chief officers and men of the first rank. As for the common soldiers, he made them mount guard by turns upon the ramparts, accustom them to bear the dreadful looks of the enemy, and to hear their savage voices without fear, as well as to make them acquainted with their arms, and their way of using them. By these means, what at first was terrible, by being often looked upon, would in time become unaffecting. For he concluded, that with regard to objects of terror, novelty adds many unreal circumstances, and that things really dreadful lose their effect by familiarity. Indeed, the daily sight of the barbarians not only lessened the fears of the soldiers, but the menacing behaviour and intolerable vanity of the enemy, provoked their resentment, and inflamed their courage. For they only plundered and ruined the adjacent country, but advanced to the very trenches with the greatest insolence and contempt.

Marius at last was told, that the soldiers vented their grief in such complaints as these: "What effeminacy has Marius discovered in us, that he thus keeps us locked up, like silly women, and restrains us from fighting? Come on; let us, with the spirit of freemen, ask him if he waits for others to fight for the liberties of Rome, and intends to make use of us only the vilest labourers, in digging trenches, in carrying out loads of dirt, and turning the courses of rivers? It is for such noble works as these, we doubt, that he exercises us in such painful labours; and, when they are done, he will return and show our fellow-citizens the glorious continuance of his power. It is true, Carbo and Cæpio were slain by the enemy: but does their death terrify him? Carbo and Cæpio were generals much inferior to Marius, in valour and renown, and are superior to the army they led. Better it is to be in action, though we suffered from the hands of the enemy, and the destruction of our allies."

Marius, delighted with these speeches, talked them in a soothing way. He told them, "It was not from any distrust of you that I am still, but that, by order of certain oracles, I waited both for the time and place which were to give me the victory." For he had with him a Syrian woman, named Martha, who was said to have the gift of prophecy. She was carried about by a litter

with great respect and solemnity, and the sacrifices were by her direction. had formerly applied to in this character, and an offer of predicting for them future events, but they refused to hear her. she betook herself to women, and them a specimen of her art. addressed herself particularly to the wife of Marius, whose she happened sit, when there a combat of gladiators, and fortunately enough, told her which of them would prove victorious. Marius's wife her husband, who received her with the veneration, and provided for her the litter in which she was generally carried. When sacrifice, she a purple robe, lined with the same, and buttoned up, and in her hand a spear adorned with ribbands and garlands. When they this pompous scene, many doubted whether Marius was really persuaded of her prophetic abilities, only pretended to so, and acted a part, while showed the in this form.

But what Alexander Myndos relates concerning the vultures really deserves admiration. Two of them, it seems, always appeared, and followed the army, before any great success, being well known by their brazen collars. The soldiers, when they took them, had put these collars upon them, and then let them go. From this time they knew, and in a manner saluted soldiers; and the soldiers, whenever these appeared upon their march, rejoiced the assurance of performing something extraordinary.

About time, there happened many prodigies, of them of the usual kind. But news was brought from America and Tuderum, cities in Italy, that one night there in the sky spears and shields of fire, waving about, and then clashing against each other, in imitation of the postures and motions of men fighting; and that, one party giving way, and the other advancing, at last they all disappeared in the west. Much about this time, too, there arrived from Pessinus Batabaces, priest of the mother of gods, with an account the goddess declared from her sanctuary, "That Romans would obtain a great and glorious victory." The given credit his report, and decreed the goddess a temple account of the victory. But when Batabaces out, make the same declaration to the people, Aulus Pompeius, one of tribunes, prevented him, calling him impostor, and driving him in an ignominious manner from rostrum. followed, indeed, was the thing which contributed credit of the prediction, for Aulus dissolved assembly, and reached his own house, when he seized with a violent fever, of which he died within a week. This a universally known.

keeping close, Teutones attempted force entrenchments; but being received with a shower of darts camp, by which they lost a number of men, they resolved to march forward, concluding that they might pass the Alps in full security. They packed their baggage, therefore, and by the Roman camp. Then it was the immensity of their numbers

appeared in the clearest light, the length of their train, the time they took up in passing; for, it is said, that though they moved without intermission, they were six days in going by Marius's camp. Indeed, they went very near it, and asked the Romans by way of insult, "Whether they gave any commands to their wives, whether they should go shortly with them?" As soon as the barbarians had passed by, and were in march, Marius likewise decamped, and followed, always taking care to keep them, and choosing strong places at a small distance for his camp, which he also fortified, in order that he might pass the nights in safety. Thus they moved, they went to Aquæ Sextiæ, from whence there but a short march to the Alps.

There Marius prepared for battle; having pitched upon a place for his camp, which was unexceptionable in point of strength, but afforded little water. By this circumstance, they tell us, he wanted to excite his soldiers to action; and when many of them complained of thirst, he pointed to a river which ran close by the enemy's camp, and told them, "That thence they might purchase water with their blood." "Why then," said they, "do you lead us thither immediately, before our blood is quite parched up?" To which he answered in a softer tone, "I will lead you thither, but first let us fortify our camp."

The soldiers obeyed, though with some reluctance. But the officers of the army, being in great want of water, both for themselves and their cattle, ran in crowds to the stream, some with pick-axes, some with hatchets, and others with swords and javelins, along with their pitchers; for they were resolved to have water, though they were obliged to fight for it. These were first encountered by a small party of the enemy, when some having bathed engaged at dinner, and others were still bathing. For there the country abounds in hot wells. This gave the Romans an opportunity of cutting off a number of them, while they were indulging themselves in those delicious baths, and charmed with the beauty of the place. The cry of those brought others to their assistance, so that it was difficult for Marius to restrain the impetuosity of his soldiers, who were in pain for their servants. Besides, the Ambrones, to a number of 30,000, who were the best of the enemy had, and who had already defeated Cæpio and drawn out, and stood to their arms. Though they had overcharged themselves with eating, yet the wine they had drank had given them fresh spirits; and they advanced, in a wild and disorderly manner, with a confused and inarticulate noise: but beating their drums at regular intervals, and all keeping time with the tune, they came crying out, *Ambrones! Ambrones!* This they did, either to encourage each other, or to terrify the enemy with their numbers. The Ligurians and the Italians moved against them: and when they heard the cry *Ambrones* they echoed back the word, which was indeed an ancient name. Thus their shout was often returned by one army to the other before they charged, and the officers, both joining in

it, and striving which should pronounce the word loudest, by this to courage and impetuosity of their troops.

The Ambrones obliged to pass the river, and their order; so that, before they could form again, the Ligurians charged foremost of them and began the battle. The Romans to support the Ligurians, and pouring down from the higher ground, pressed the enemy so hard, that they soon put them in disorder. Many of them jostling each other on the banks of the river, were slain there, and the river itself was filled with their bodies. Those who got safe over, daring to turn their head, were cut off by the Romans, they fled to their camp and carriages. There the Romans meeting them with swords and axes, and setting up a horrid and hideous cry, upon the fugitives, as well as the pursuers, the former as traitors, and the latter as enemies. Mingling with the combatants, they broke on the shields, caught their swords with their naked hands, and obstinately suffered themselves to be hacked in pieces. Thus the battle had been fought on the banks of the river rather by accident than by design of the general.

The Romans, after having destroyed so many of the Ambrones, retired as it grew dark; but the camp did not resound with songs of victory, as might have been expected upon such success. There were no entertainments, no mirth in their tents, nor, what is the most agreeable circumstance to the soldier after victory, any sound and refreshing sleep. The night was passed in the greatest alarm and perplexity. The camp was without trench or rampart. There remained yet many myriads of the barbarians unconquered; and such of the Ambrones as escaped, mixing with them, a cry was heard all night, not like the sighs and groans of men, but like the howling and bellowing of wild beasts. As this proceeded from such an innumerable host, the neighbouring mountains and the hollow banks of the river returned the sound, and the horrid noise filled the whole plains. The Romans felt the impressions of terror, and Marius himself was filled with astonishment at the apprehension of a tumultuous night-engagement. However, the barbarians did not attack them, either that night or the day, but spent the time in consulting how to dispose and draw themselves up to the best advantage.

In the meantime Marius observing the sloping hills were woody that hung over the enemy's camp, despatched Claudius Marcellus with 3000 men, to lie in ambush there till the day was begun, and then to attack upon the enemy's camp. The rest of the troops were ordered to follow and to be ready in good time. Next morning when the day was light he drew up before the camp, and commanded the cavalry to march into the plain. The Teutones seeing this, did not contain themselves nor stay till all the Romans were come into the plain, where they might fight them upon equal terms; but arming hastily through thirst of vengeance advanced up to the camp. Marius despatched his orders through the whole army, with orders that they should stand still and wait for the enemy. When

the barbarians [] within reach, the Romans [] to throw their javelins, then [] sword [] hand, and pressing upon them with their shields, push them with all their force. For he knew the place [] slippery, that the enemy's blows could have [] great weight, nor could they preserve [] close order, where the declivity of the ground continually changed their poise. At the [] time that [] these directions, he was the first that set the example. For [] inferior to [] personal agility, and in resolution he far exceeded them all.

The Romans, by their firmness and united charge, kept the barbarians from ascending the hill, and by little and little forced them down into the plain. There the foremost battalions [] beginning [] form again, when the utmost confusion discovered itself in the []. For Marcellus, who [] watched his opportunity, as soon [] he found, by the noise, which reached the hills where he lay, that the battle [] begun, with [] impetuosity and loud shouts fell upon the enemy's rear, and destroyed a considerable number of them. The hindmost being pushed upon those before, the whole army [] soon put in disorder. Thus attacked both in front and rear, they could not stand the double shock, but forsook their ranks, and fled.¹ The Romans pursuing, either killed or took prisoners above 100,000, and having made themselves masters of their tents, carriages, and baggage, voted as many of them as were not plundered, a present to Marius. This indeed was a noble recompence, yet it was thought very inadequate [] the generalship he had shown in that great and imminent danger.²

Other historians give a different account, both of the disposition of the spoils, and the number of the slain. From these writers we learn, that the Massilians walled in their vineyards with the bones they found in the field : and that the rain which fell the winter following, soaked in the moisture of the putrified bodies the ground [] enriched by it, that it produced the next season a prodigious crop. Thus the opinion of Archilochus is confirmed, that *fields are fattened with blood*. It is observed, indeed, that extraordinary rains generally fall after great battles ; whether it be, that some deity chooses to wash and purify the earth with water from above, [] whether the blood and corruption, by the moist and heavy vapours they emit, thicken the air, which is liable [] altered by the smallest [].

After the battle Marius selected from among the arms and other spoils, such [] elegant and entire, and likely [] make [] greatest show in his triumph. The rest [] piled together, and offered them [] a splendid sacrifice to the gods. The army stood round the pile crowned with laurel ; and himself arrayed in his purple robe, and girt after the manner of the Romans, took a lighted

¹ This victory was gained [] second year of Olympiad 109 æra 104.

² And yet [] does not appear anything very extraordinary in the generalship of Marius [] the []. The

ignorance [] of the [] did everything in his favour. The Teutones lost the battle, as Hawley lost it Falkirk by attempting the hills.

torch. ■ had just lifted ■ up with both hands towards heaven and was going to ■ fire to the pile, when ■ friends ■ seen galloping towards him. Great silence and expectation followed. When they ■ near, they leaped from their horses, and saluted Marius consul the fifth time, delivering him letters ■ the ■ purpose. This added great joy ■ the solemnity, ■ the soldiers expressed by acclamations and by clanking their arms; and while the officers ■ presenting Marius with ■ of laurel, he ■ fire ■ the pile, and finished the sacrifice.

■ whatever it is, that ■ permit us ■ enjoy any great prosperity p ■ and unmixed but chequers human life with a variety of good and evil; whether it be fortune ■ some chastising deity, ■ necessity ■ the nature of things; ■ a few days after this joyful solemnity, the sad ■ brought ■ Marius of what had befallen his colleague Catullus. An event, which, like ■ cloud in the midst of a calm, brought fresh alarms upon Rome, and threatened her with another tempest. Catullus, who had the Cimbri ■ oppose, ■ to a resolution ■ give up the defence of the heights lest he should weaken himself by being obliged ■ divide his force into many parts. He therefore descended quickly from the Alps into Italy, and posted his army behind the river Athesis (Adige) ■ where he blocked up the fords with ■ fortifications ■ both sides, and threw ■ bridge ■ it; that so he might be in a condition to succour the garrisons beyond it, if the barbarians should make their way through the ■ passes of the mountains, and attempt to ■ them. The barbarians ■ their enemies in such contempt, and ■ on with much insolence, that rather to show their strength and courage, than out of any necessity, *they exposed themselves naked to the showers of snow; and, having pushed through the ice and deep drifts of ■ to the tops of the mountains, they put their broad shields under them, and so slid down ■ spite of the broken rocks and vast slippery descents.*

■ they had encamped near the river, and taken ■ view of ■ channel, they determined to fill it up. Then they tore up the neighbouring hills, like the giants of old; they pulled ■ by ■ roots; they broke off massy rocks, and rolled in huge heaps of earth. These ■ dam up the current. Other bulky materials, besides these, ■ thrown in, to force away the bridge, which being carried down ■ with great violence, beat against the timber, and shook ■ foundation. ■ the sight of this the Roman soldiers were struck with ■, and great part of them quitted the camp and drew back. On this occasion Catullus, like an able and excellent general, showed that ■ preferred the glory of his country ■ his own. For when he found that he could not persuade his men to keep their post, and that they were deserting ■ in a very dastardly manner, ■ ordered ■ standard ■ taken up, and running ■ foremost of the fugitives, led them on himself; choosing rather that the disgrace should ■ upon him ■ upon ■ country, and that his soldiers ■ to fly, but to follow their general.

The barbarians ■ assaulted ■ took the fortress ■ other

of the Athesis : but admiring the bravery of the garrison, who had behaved in a most suitable to the glory of Rome, they dismissed them upon certain conditions, having first made them to them upon a brazen bull. In the battle that followed, this bull was taken among the spoils, it is said to have been carried to Catullus's house, as the first-fruits of the victory. The country being without defence, the Cimbri spread themselves over it, and committed great depredations.

Hereupon Marius called home. When he arrived, every one expected that he would triumph, and the senate readily passed a decree to that purpose. However, he declined it ; whether it was, that he was unwilling to deprive his men, who had shared in the danger, of their part of the honour, or that to encourage the people in the present extremity, he chose to entrust the glory of his former achievements with the fortune of Rome, in order to have it restored to him with interest upon his next success. Having made an oration suitable to the time, he went to join Catullus, who was much encouraged by his coming. He then sent for his army out of Gaul ; and when it arrived, he crossed the Po, with a design to keep the barbarians from penetrating into the interior parts of Italy. But they deferred the combat, on pretence that they expected the Teutones, and that they wondered at their delay ; either being really ignorant of their fate, or choosing to seem so. For they punished those who brought them that account with stripes ; and sent to ask Marius for lands and cities, sufficient both for them and their brethren. When Marius inquired of the ambassadors who their brethren were, they told him the Teutones. The assembly laughed, and Marius replied in a taunting manner, "*Do not trouble yourselves about your brethren ; for they have land enough, which we have already given them, and they shall have it for ever.*" The ambassadors perceiving the irony, answered in sharp and scurrilous terms, assuring him, " That the Cimbri would chastise him immediately, and the Teutones when they came." " And they are not far off," said Marius, " it will be very unkind, therefore, in you to go away without saluting your brethren." At the same time he ordered the kings of the Teutones to be brought out, loaded as they were with chains : for they had been taken by the Sequani, and they were endeavouring to escape to the Alps.

As soon as the ambassadors had acquainted the Cimbri with what had passed, they marched directly against Marius, who at that time lay still, and kept within his trenches. It is reported that on this occasion he contrived a new form for the javelins. Till then they used to fasten the shaft to the iron head with two iron pins. But Marius now letting some of them remain as it was, had the other taken out, and a weak wooden peg put in its place. By this contrivance he intended, that when the javelin struck in the enemy's shield, it should stand right out ; but that, the wooden peg breaking, and the iron pin bending, the shaft of the weapon should be dragged upon the ground, the point stuck in the earth.

Boiorix, king of the Cimbri, with a small party

horse to the Roman camp, ■■■ challenged Marius ■■ appoint the time and place where they ■■■ meet and decide it by arms, to whom the country should belong. Marius answered. " That the Romans ■■■ consulted their enemies when ■■ fight ; however, he would indulge the Cimbri in this point." Accordingly they agreed ■■ fight the third day after, and that the plain of Vercellæ should be the ■■■ of battle, which was fit for the Roman cavalry ■■ act on ■■■ convenient for ■■■ barbarians ■■ display their number.

Both parties kept their day, and drew up their forces ■■■ against each other. Catullushad under his command 20,300 men : Marius had 32,000. The latter were drawn up in ■■ two wings, and Catullus ■■■ in the centre. Sylla, who ■■■ present in ■■■ battle, gives us this account ; and it is reported, that Marius made this disposition, in hopes of breaking the Cimbrian battalions with the wings only, and securing to himself and his soldiers ■■■ honour of the victory, before Catullus could have an opportunity ■■ ■■■ up ■■ the charge ; it being usual, in a large front, for ■■■ wings to advance before the main body. This is confirmed by the defe- ■■■ which Catullus made of his own behaviour, in which he insisted much ■■ the malignant designs of Marius against him.

The Cimbrian infantry marched out of their trenches without noise, and formed so as to have their flanks equal to their front ; each side of the square extending to 30 furlongs. Their cavalry, ■■ the number of 15,000, issued forth in great splendour. Their helmets represented the heads and open jaws of strange and frightful wild beasts : on these were fixed high plumes, which made the men appear taller. Their breast-plates were of polished iron, and their shields were white and glittering. Each man had two-edged darts ■■ fight with at a distance, and when they came hand to hand, they used broad and heavy swords. In this engagement they did not ■■■ directly upon the front of the Romans, but wheeling to the right they endeavoured by little and little to enclose the enemy between them and their infantry, who ■■■ posted on the left. The Roman generals perceived their artful design, but ■■■ not ■■■ to ■■■ their own ■■■. One happened ■■ cry out, that the enemy fled, and they all set off upon the pursuit. In the ■■■ time, the barbarian foot ■■■ ■■■ ■■■. Marius having purified, lifted his hands towards heaven, and vowed ■■ hecatomb ■■ the gods ; and Catullus, in the ■■■ posture, promised to ■■■ a temple ■■ the fortune of that day. As Marius sacrificed ■■ this occasion, it is said, that the entrails were no ■■■ shown him, than he cried out with ■■ loud voice, " The victory is ■■■."

However, when the battle was joined, ■■ accident happened, which, ■■ Sylla writes, appeared to be intended by Heaven ■■ humble Marius. A prodigious dust, it seems, arose, which ■■■ armies. Marius moving ■■■ the charge, ■■■ misfor-

¹ It is a misfortune that Catullus' History of his consulship, and a quarter that Sylla's commentaries, are lost.

to miss the enemy; and having passed by their army, wandered about with his troops a long time in the field. In the meantime, the good fortune of Catullus directed the enemy to him, and it his legions (in which Sylla tells he fought) to whose lot the chief conflict fell. The heat of the weather, and the sun which shone full in the faces of the Cimbri, fought for the Romans. Those barbarians, being bred in shady and frozen countries, could bear the severest cold, but proof against heat. Their bodies ran down with sweat; they drew their breath with difficulty, and were forced to hold their shields to shade their faces. Indeed this battle fought not long after the solstice, and the Romans keep a festival for it on the third day of the calends of August, then called Sextilis. The dust too, which hid the enemy, helped to encourage the Romans. For as they could have no distinct view of the vast numbers of their antagonists, they ran the charge, and were come to close engagement before the sight of such multitudes could give them any impressions of terror. Besides, the Romans strengthened by labour and exercise, that not one of them was observed to sweat or be out of breath, notwithstanding the suffocating heat and the violence of the encounter. So Catullus himself is said to have written, in commendation of his soldiers.

The greatest and best part of the enemy's troops were cut to pieces upon the spot; those who fought in the front fastened themselves together, by long cords run through their belts,¹ to prevent their ranks from being broken. The Romans drove back the fugitives their camp, where they found the most shocking spectacle. The standing in mourning by their carriages, killed those that fled; their husbands, some their brothers, others their fathers. They strangled their little children with their own hands, and threw them the wheels and horses' feet. Last of all, they killed themselves. They tell us that slung from the top of a waggon, with a child hanging each heel. The men, for want of trees, tied themselves by the neck, the horns of the oxen, others to their legs, and then pricked them that by the starting of the beasts, they might be strangled pieces. But though they industrious to destroy themselves, above 60,000 taken prisoners, and the killed said to have been twice that number.

Marius's soldiers plundered the baggage; but other spoils, with ensigns and trumpets, they tell us, brought the camp Catullus; and he availed himself chiefly of this, as proof that victory belonged him. A hot dispute, it seems, arose between his troops and those of Marius, which had best claim, and the ambassadors from Parma, who happened be there, chosen arbitrators. Catullus's soldiers led them the field of battle

¹ This was an absurd contrivance to keep their ranks. But they intended also

to have bound their prisoners with the cords after the

the dead, and clearly proved that they ■■■■ killed by their javelins, because Catullus had taken ■■■■ have the shafts inscribed with his ■■■■. Nevertheless, the whole honour of the day was ascribed to Marius, ■■■■ account of his former victory, and his present authority. Nay, such ■■■■ the applause of the populace, that they called him *the third founder of Rome*, as having rescued her from ■■■■ danger not less dreadful than that from the Gauls. In their rejoicings ■■■■ home with their wives and children, at supper they offered libations to Marius along with the gods, and would have given him alone the honour of both triumphs. He declined this indeed, and triumphed with Catullus being desirous ■■■■ show his moderation after such ■■■■ extraordinary instances of success. Or, perhaps, he was afraid of some opposition from Catullus's soldiers, who might not have suffered him to triumph, if he had deprived their general of his share of the honour.

In this manner his fifth consulate ■■■■ passed. And ■■■■ aspired to ■■■■ sixth, with ■■■■ ardour than any man had ■■■■ shown for his first. He courted the people, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the meanest of them by such servile condescensions, as were not only unsuitable to his dignity, but even contrary to his disposition; assuming an air of gentleness and complaisance, for which nature never meant him. It is said, that in civil affairs and the tumultuous proceedings of the populace, his ambition had given him ■■■■ uncommon timidity. That intrepid firmness which he discovered in battle forsook him in the assemblies of the people, and the least breath of praise or dislike disconcerted him in his address. Yet we are told, that when he had granted the freedom of the city to a thousand Camerians, who had distinguished themselves by their behaviour in the wars, and his proceeding was found fault with as contrary ■■■■ law, he said, "The law spoke too softly to be heard amidst the din of arms." However, the noise that ■■■■ dreaded, and that robbed him of his presence of mind, was that of popular assemblies. In ■■■■ he easily obtained the highest rank, because they could not do without him; but in the administration he ■■■■ sometimes ■■■■ danger of losing the honours he solicited. In these ■■■■ ■■■■ had ■■■■ the partiality of the multitude; and had ■■■■ scruple of making ■■■■ honesty subservient ■■■■ ambition.

By these ■■■■ he made himself obnoxious ■■■■ all the patricians. But ■■■■ ■■■■ afraid of Metellus, whom ■■■■ ■■■■ treated with ingratitude. Besides, Metellus was ■■■■ man, who, from ■■■■ spirit ■■■■ true virtue, ■■■■ naturally ■■■■ enemy to those who endeavoured to gain ■■■■ populace by evil arts, and directed all their ■■■■ ■■■■ please them. Marius, therefore, was very desirous ■■■■ get him ■■■■ of the way. For ■■■■ ■■■■ he associated with Glucias and Saturninus, ■■■■ ■■■■ daring and turbulent men in Rome, who had ■■■■ indigent ■■■■ seditious part of ■■■■ people ■■■■ their command. By their assistance ■■■■ got several laws enacted; and having planted many of his soldiers in ■■■■ assemblies, his faction prevailed and ■■■■ was overborne.

Rutillius,¹ in other respects a man of credit and veracity, but particularly prejudiced against Marius, tells that he obtained his sixth consulate by large sums which he distributed among the tribes, and having thrown Metellus by dint of money, prevailed with them to elect Valerius Flaccus rather his servant than his colleague. The people had before bestowed so many consulates on any one man, except Valerius Corvinus.² And there was this great difference, that between the first and sixth consulate of Corvinus there was an interval of forty-five years; whereas Marius, after his first, carried through five more without interruption, by tide of fortune.

In the last of these he exposed himself to much hatred, by abetting Saturninus in his crimes; particularly in his murder of Nonius, whom he slew because he was his competitor for the tribuneship. Saturninus, being appointed tribune of the people, proposed an Agrarian law, in which there was a clause expressly providing, "That the senate should come and swear in full assembly, to confirm whatever the people should decree, and not oppose them in any thing." Marius in the senate pretended to declare against this clause, asserting that, "He would never take such an oath, and that he believed no wise man would. For, supposing the law not a bad one, it would be a disgrace to the senate to be compelled to give sanction to a thing, which they should be brought only by choice to persuasion."

These, however, were not his real sentiments; but he was laying for Metellus an unavoidable snare. As to himself, he reckoned that a great part of virtue and prudence consisted in dissimulation, therefore he made but small account of his declaration in the senate. At the same time, knowing Metellus to be a man of immoveable firmness, who, with Pindar, esteemed *Truth the spring of heroic virtue*, he hoped, by refusing the oath himself, to draw him in to refuse it too; which would infallibly expose him to the implacable reprobation of the people. The event answered his expectation. Upon Metellus's declaring that he would take the oath, he was dismissed. A few days after, Saturninus summoned the fathers, to appear in the forum, and swear to that article, and Marius made his appearance among the rest. A profound silence ensued, and all eyes were fixed upon him, when, bidding adieu to the fine things he had said in the senate, he turned to the audience, "That I am not so opinionative as to pretend absolutely to prejudge a matter of such importance, and therefore he would take the oath, and keep it too, provided it was a law." This proviso he added, merely to give colour to his impudence, and was immediately rebuked.³

¹ C. Iulius Rufus was Consul the year before the second consulship of Marius. He wrote his own life in Latin, and a Roman History in Greek. Cicero mentions him, on several occasions, as a man of honour and probity. He was called six or seven years after the consulship of M. Iulius. Iulius would have recalled him, but he refused to return.

² Valerius Corvinus was Consul the year before he was only 23 years of age, in the year of Rome 498; and he was appointed Consul the sixth year of Rome 452.

³ Thus Marius made the first step towards the ruin of the Roman constitution, which happened not long after. If the senate were to swear to confirm whatever

The people, charmed with [] compliance, expressed their sense of it in loud acclamations ; while [] patricians [] abashed, and held his double-dealing in the highest detestation. Intimidated by the people, they took the oath, however, in their order, till it [] to Metellus. But Metellus, though his friends exhorted and entreated him to be conformable, and not expose himself [] those dreadful penalties which Saturninus had provided for such [] refused, shrunk [] from the dignity of his resolution, [] took [] oath. That great man abode by his principles ; he [] ready [] suffer the greatest calamities, rather than do a dishonourable thing ; and as he quitted the forum, he said to those about him, "*To do an ill action is base ; [] do [] good one, which involves you [] no danger is nothing [] than [] ; but it is the property of [] good man, [] do great and good things, though he risks everything by it.*"

Saturninus then caused a decree to be made, that the consuls should declare Metellus [] person interdicted the [] of fire and water, whom no [] should admit into his house. And the [] of the people, adhering to that party, [] ready [] assassinate him. The nobility, now anxious for Metellus, ranged themselves on his side ; but he would suffer no sedition [] his account. Instead of that, he adopted [] wise measure, which [] to leave the city. "For," said he, "either matters will take a better turn, and the people repent and recall me ; or if they remain the same, it will be best to be at a distance from Rome." What regard and what honours [] paid Metellus during his banishment, and how he lived at Rhodes in the study of philosophy, it will be [] convenient to mention in his life.

Marius was so highly obliged [] Saturninus for this last piece of service, that he was forced to connive [] him, though he now [] out into every [] of insolence and outrage. He did not consider that he [] giving [] reins to [] destroying fury, who [] making his [] in blood [] absolute power and the subversion [] the state. All [] while Marius [] desirous to keep fair with the nobility, and [] the [] time to retain the good graces of the people, and this led him to act [] part, than which nothing [] [] deceived [] ungenerous and deceitful. One night [] of [] first [] in [] [] to his house, and pressed him to declare against Saturninus : but [] that very time he let in Saturninus [] another door unknown to them. Then pretending [] disorder in [] bowels, he [] from one party [] [] other : [] this trick [] played several times over, still exasperating both against each other. At last the [] and [] equestrian order rose in a body, and expressed their indignation in such strong terms, that he [] [] [] a party of [] into the forum, [] suppress the sedition. Saturninus, Glaucias, and the rest of the cabal, fled into

the people should deserve, whether good or bad, they cease to have a weight in the scale, and the government becomes a [] [] And as the people grow [] [] take the highest price that

was offered them, absolute power must be advanced with hasty strides. Indeed a nation which has no principle of public virtue left is [] fit to be [] by any other.

the Capitol. There they were besieged, and at last forced to yield for want of water, the pipes being cut off. When they could hold out no longer, they called for Marius, and surrendered themselves to him upon the public faith. He tried every art to save them, but nothing would avail; they no sooner came down into the forum, than they were all put to the sword.¹ He was thus become equally odious both to the nobility and the commons, so that when the time for the election of Censors came on, contrary to expectation, he declined offering himself, and permitted others of less note to be chosen. But though it was his fear of a repulse that made him sit still, he gave it another colour; pretending he did not choose to make himself obnoxious to the people by a close inspection into their lives.

An edict was now proposed for the recall of Metellus. Marius opposed it with all his power; but finding his endeavours fruitless, he gave up the point, and the people passed the bill with pleasure. Unable to bear the sight of Metellus, he contrived to take a voyage to Cappadocia and Galatia, under pretence of offering some sacrifices which he had vowed to the mother of the gods. But he had another reason which was not known to the people. Incapable of making any figure in peace, and unversed in political knowledge, he saw that all his greatness arose from war, and that in a state of inaction its lustre began to fade. He, therefore, studied to raise new commotions. If he could but stir up the Asiatic kings, and particularly Mithridates, who seemed most inclined to quarrel, he hoped soon to be appointed general against him, and to have an opportunity to fill the city with new triumphs, as well as to enrich his own house with the spoils of Pontus and the wealth of its monarch. For this reason, though Mithridates treated him in the politest and most respectful manner, he was not in the least mollified, but addressed him in the following terms—"Mithridates, your business is, either to render yourself more powerful than the Romans, or to submit quietly to their commands." The king was quite amazed. He had often heard of the liberty of speech that prevailed among the Romans, but that was the first time he experienced it.

At his return to Rome, he built a house near the forum: either for the convenience of those who wanted to wait on him, which was the reason he assigned; or because he hoped to have a greater number of people at his gates. In this, however, he was mistaken. He had not those graces of conversation, that engaging address, which others were so full of; and therefore, like a common implement of war, he was neglected in time of peace. He was not so much concerned at the preference given to others, but that which Sylla had gained afflicted him exceedingly: because he was rising by the force of the envy which the patricians bore him, and by the step which the administration was, a quarrel with him. When Bocchus, king of Numidia, was declared an ally of the Romans, erected in the Capitol figures of Victory adorned with trophies,

¹ The people despatched them with clubs and stones.

placed by them ■ set of golden statues, which represented him delivering Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla. Marius ■ almost distracted. He considered this as an ■ by which Sylla wanted to rob him of the glory of his achievements, and prepared ■ demolish these monuments by force. Sylla, on his part, as strenuously opposed him.

This edition ■ just upon the point of flaming out, when the War of the Allies intervened,¹ and put a stop to it. The most warlike and most populous nations of Italy conspired against Rome, and ■ not far from subverting the empire. Their strength consisted ■ only in the weapons and valour of their soldiers, but in the courage and capacity of their generals, who were not inferior ■ those of Rome.

This war, ■ remarkable for the number of battles and the variety of fortune that attended it, added as much to the reputation of Sylla, as it diminished that of Marius. The latter now seemed slow in his attacks, as well as dilatory in his resolutions: whether it were, that age had quenched his martial heat and vigour (for he was ■ above 65 years old) or that, as he himself said, his nerves being weak, and his body unwieldy, he underwent the fatigues of war, which were in fact above his strength, merely upon a point of honour. However, he bent the enemy in a great battle, wherein he killed at least ■ of them, and through the whole he took care to give them no advantage over him. Nay, he suffered them to draw ■ line about him, to ridicule, and challenge him to the combat, without being in the least concerned at it. It is reported, that when Pompeius Silo, an officer of the greatest eminence and authority among the allies, said ■ him, "If you are a great general, Marius, come down and fight us;" he answered, "If you are a great general, Silo, make me come down and fight." Another time, when the enemy gave the Romans ■ good opportunity of attacking them, and they were afraid to embrace it; after both parties were retired, he called his soldiers together, and made this short speech to them—*"I know not which to call the greatest towards, the enemy or you; for neither dare they face your backs, ■ you theirs."* At last pretending ■ incapacitated for the service by his infirmities, he ■ down the command.

Yet when the ■ with the confederates drew ■ an end, and several applications were made, through the popular orators, for the command against Mithridates, the tribune Sulpitius, ■ bold and daring man, contrary ■ all expectation, brought forth Marius, and nominated him proconsul and general in the Mithridatic war. The people, upon this, ■ divided, some accepting Marius, while others called for Sylla, and bade Marius go to the ■ baths of Baiæ, for cure, since, by his own confession, he was quite ■ out with age and defluxions. It seems, Marius had a fine villa ■ Misenum, more luxuriously and effeminately furnished than became ■

¹ This was also called the Marston war. ■ broke out in the 68th year of Rome. Vide Flom. l. iii. c. 18.

who had been the head of so many armies, and had directed many campaigns. Cornelia said to have bought this house for 75,000 drachmas; yet, long time after, Lucius Lucullus gave for it 5,000,200: to such a height expense and luxury rise in the of a few years.

Marius, however, affecting to shake off the infirmities of age, went every day into the *Campus Martius*; where he took the most robust exercises along with the young men, and showed himself nimble in his arms, and active horseback, though his years had made him heavy and corpulent. Some were pleased with these things, and went to see the spirit he exerted in the exercises. But the more sensible sort of people, when they beheld it, could not help pitying the avarice and ambition of a man, who, though raised from poverty to opulence, and from the meanest condition to greatness, knew not how to set bounds to his good fortune. It shocked them to think, that this man, instead of being happy in the admiration he had gained, and enjoying his present possessions in peace, if he in of things, going, at so great age, and after so many honours and triumphs, to Cappadocia and the Euxine Sea, to fight with Archelaus and Neoptolemus, the lieutenants of Mithridates. As for the reason that Marius assigned for this step, namely, that he wanted himself to train up his son in war, it was perfectly trifling.

The commonwealth had been sickly for time, and now her disorder came to crisis. Marius had found a fit instrument for her ruin in the audacity of Sulpitius; a man who in other respects admired and imitated Saturninus, but considered him as too timid and dilatory in his proceedings. Determined to commit no such error, he got 600 men of the equestrian order about him, his guard, whom he called his Anti-senate.

One day while the Consuls were holding an assembly of the people,¹ Sulpitius came upon them with his assassins. The Consuls immediately fled, but he seized the of of them, and killed him on the spot. Sylla (the other Consul) pursued, but escaped into the house of Marius, which nobody thought of; and when pursuers were gone by, it is said that Marius himself let him at a back gate, from whence he got safe to the camp. But Sylla, his Commentaries, denies that he the house of Marius. He writes, that he was taken thither to debate about certain edicts, which they wanted him pass against his will; that surrounded with drawn swords, and carried forcibly that house; and that last removed from thence to the forum, where pe revoke the order of vocation,² which been issued by him and colleague.

Sulpitius, carrying all before him, decreed the command of army Marius; and Marius, preparing for his march,

¹ Sylla and Pompeius Rufus were Consuls. It was the son of the latter that was slain.

² If that order had not been revoked,

no public business could have been done; consequently Marius could not have been appointed to the command against Mithridates.

tribunes Sylla, with orders that he should deliver up the army to them. But Sylla, instead of resigning his charge, animated his troops to revenge, and led them, to the number of 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, directly against Rome. As for the tribunes whom Marius could demand the army of Sylla, they fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. Marius, on the other hand, put to death many of Sylla's friends in Rome, and proclaimed liberty to all slaves that would take up arms in his behalf. But, he told, there could be no resistance; Sylla soon entered the city, and Marius was forced to fly for his life.

As soon as he had quitted Rome, he abandoned by those who had accompanied him. They dispersed themselves; they could; and night coming on, he retired to a little house he had in Rome, called *Salonium*. Thence he sent his son to some neighbouring farms of his father-in-law Mutius, to provide food. However, he did not wait for his return, but went down to Ostia, where a friend of his, called Numerius, had prepared him a ship, and embarked, having with him only Granius, his wife's son by a former husband.

When young Marius had reached his grandfather's estate, he hastened to collect such things as he wanted, and to pack them up. But before he could make an end, he was overtaken by day-light, and was near being discovered by the enemy; for a party of horse had hastened thither, on suspicion that Marius might be lurking thereabouts. The bailiff of those grounds got sight of them in time, and hid the young man in a cart-load of beans. Then he put to his team, and driving up to the party of horsemen, passed on to Rome. Thus young Marius was conveyed to his wife, who supplied him with necessaries; and as soon as it grew dark, he made for the sea, where finding a ship ready to sail for Africa, he embarked, and passed on to that country.

In the meantime the elder Marius with a favourable gale coasted Italy. But being afraid of falling into the hands of Geminus, a leading man in Tarracina, who was his professed enemy, he directed his mariners to keep clear of that place. The wind blowing enough to oblige him; but the wind shifting suddenly, and blowing hard from the north, they were afraid they should not be able to weather the storm. Besides, Marius was indisposed and sea-sick; they concluded therefore to make land, and with great difficulty got to Circeum. There finding that the tempest increased, and their provisions began to fail, they went on shore, but wandered up and down, they knew not whither. Such is the method taken by persons in great perplexity; they shun the present, the greatest evil, and look for hope in the dark events of futurity. The land was their enemy, the sea was the same; it was dangerous to them with men; it was dangerous also not to meet with them, because they wanted of provisions. In the evening they were met by a few herdsmen, who had nothing to give them, but happening to know Marius, they would immediately quit those parts, and a

little before they had seen a number of horse upon that very spot riding about ■ search of him ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ in the ■ in all manner of distress, and those about him ■ to ■ out through ■ in ■ In this extremity he turned ■ of the road, and threw himself into a thick wood, where he passed the night in great anxiety. Next day, in distress for want of refreshment, and willing to ■ use of the little strength he had, before it quite forsok him, ■ moved down to the seaside. As he went, he encouraged his companions ■ to desert him, and earnestly entreated them to wait for the accomplishment of his last hope, for which ■ reserved himself, upon the credit ■ ■ ■ old prophecies. He told them that when he was very young, and lived in the country, in eagle's nest fell into his lap, with seven young ones in it. His parents surprised at the sight, applied ■ the diviners, who answered, that their ■ would ■ the most illustrious of men and that he would seven ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ attain the highest office and authority in his country.

Some say, this had actually happened to Marius, others ■ of opinion, that it the persons who ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ about him, and heard him relate it, on that as well as several other occasions during his exile, gave credit to it, and committed it to writing, though nothing could be ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ fibrous. *For an eagle is not more than 20 years old, and at a time* Nay, even Marius ■ accused of this fiction when he says *The eagle lays three ■ ■ ■ ■ ■, sits on four, and hatches but one*. However this may be, it is agreed on all hands, that Marius, during his banishment, and in the greatest extremities, often said, 'He should certainly come to a ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ consulship'.

They were not now above ten miles and a half from the city of Minturnæ when they espied at some considerable distance a troop of horse making towards them, and at the same time happened to see two barks sailing near the shore. They ran down, therefore, ■ the sea, with all the speed and strength they had, and when they had reached it, plunged in and ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ towards the ships. Cæcilius gained ■ of them, and passed over to an opposite island, called Enuria. As for Marius, who was very heavy and awkward, he ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ borne ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ much difficulty by two servants above the water, and put ■ ■ ■ the other ship. The puty of horse ■ ■ ■ by this time came to the seaside, from whence they called to the ships' crew either ■ put ashore immediately, or else ■ throw Marius overboard, and then they ■ ■ ■ ■ ■, to where they pleased. Marius begged of them with tears to save him, and the masters of the vessel, after consulting together a few moments, in which they changed their opinions, civil times, resolved ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ make answer, 'That they would not deliver up Marius'. Upon this, the soldiers rode off in ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ great rage, and ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ soldiers, soon departing from their resolution, made for land. They cast anchor in the mouth of the river Liris where it overflows and forms a marsh, and advised Marius, who ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ much hurried, to go and refresh himself on shore, till they could get a better wind. Thus they said would happen at a certain

hour, when the wind from the sea would fall, ■■■ that ■■■ marshes rise. Marius believing them, they helped him ashore ; and he seated ■■■ on the grass, ■■■ thinking of what was going to ■■■ him. For the crew immediately went on board again, weighed anchor, and sailed away : thinking it neither honourable ■ deliver up Marius, nor safe to protect him.

Thus deserted by ■ the world, he sat ■ good while ■ the shore, in silent stupefaction. At length, recovering himself with much difficulty, ■ and walked in ■ disconsolate manner, through those wild and devious places, ■ by scrambling over deep bogs and ditches full of water and mud, he came to the cottage of ■ ■ who worked in the fens. He threw himself ■ his feet, and begged him, "To ■ and shelter a man, who, if he escaped ■ present danger, would reward him far beyond ■ hopes." The cottager, whether he knew him before, ■ was then moved with his venerable aspect, told him, "His hut would be sufficient, if he wanted only ■ repose himself ; but if he ■ wandering about to elude the search of ■ enemies, he would hide him in ■ place much safer ■ more retired." Marius desiring him to do so, the poor ■ took him into the fens, and bade him hide himself in ■ hollow place by the river, where he laid upon him a quantity of reeds and other light things, that would cover, but not oppress him.

In a short time, however, he was disturbed with ■ tumultuous noise from the cottage. For Geminus had sent a number of men from Tarracina in pursuit of him ; and one party coming that way, loudly threatened the old man for having entertained and concealed an enemy ■ the Romans. Marius, upon this, quitted the cave ; and having stripped himself, plunged into the bog, amidst the thick water and mud. This expedient rather discovered than screened him. They hauled him ■ naked and covered with dirt, and carried him to Minturnæ, where they delivered him to the magistrates. For proclamation had been made through all those towns, that a general search should be made for Marius, and that he should be put to death, wherever he ■ found. The magistrates, however, thought proper ■ consider of it, and ■ him under a guard ■ the house ■ Fannia. This ■ ■ inveterate aversion ■ Marius. When she was divorced from her husband Tinnius, ■ demanded her whole fortune, which ■ considerable, and Tinnius alleging adultery, the cause ■ brought before Marius, who was then consul for the sixth time. Upon the trial it appeared that Fannia ■ a woman of bad fame before her marriage ; and that Tinnius was no stranger to her character when ■ married her. Besides, he ■ lived with her ■ considerable time in the ■ of matrimony. The consul, of course, reprimanded them both. The husband was ordered to restore his wife's fortune, ■ wife, as ■ proper mark of her disgrace, ■ sentenced ■ pay ■ of four drachmas.

Fannia, however, forgetful of ■ resentment, entertained ■ encouraged Marius ■ ■ of her power. He acknowledged ■ generosity, and ■ the same time expressed ■ greatest vivacity

and confidence. The occasion of ■■■ was ■■ auspicious omen. When ■■■ conducted to her house, ■■ he approached, and the gate ■■■ opened, an ■■■ ■■■ ■■ drunk ■■ a neighbouring fountain. The animal, with a vivacity uncommon to his species, fixed its eyes steadfastly on Marius, then brayed aloud, and, as it passed him, skipped wantonly along. The conclusion which he drew from this omen was, that the gods ■■■ he should seek his safety by sea : for that it ■■■ not in consequence of any natural thirst that the ■■■ went to the fountain.¹ This circumstance he mentioned to Fannia, and having ordered the door of his chamber to be secured, he went to rest.

However, the magistrates and council of Minturnæ concluded that Marius should immediately be put to death. No citizen would undertake this office ; but a dragoon, either ■■ Gaul ■■ ■■ Cimbrian, (for both ■■■ mentioned in history) ■■■ up to him sword in hand, with ■■ intent ■■ dispatch him. The chamber in which he lay, was somewhat gloomy, and a light, they tell you, glanced from the eyes of Marius, which darted on the face of the assassin ; while ■■ the ■■■ time he heard a solemn voice saying, "Dost thou dare to kill Marius?" Upon this the assassin threw down his sword and fled, crying, "I cannot kill Marius." The people of Minturnæ were struck with astonishment—pity and remorse ensued—should they put to death the preserver of Italy? was it not even a disgrace to them that they did not contribute to his relief? "Let him go," said they, "let the exile go, and ■■■ his destiny in some other region ! It is time we should deprecate the anger of the gods, who have refused the poor, the naked wanderer the common privileges of hospitality !" Under the influence of this enthusiasm, they immediately conducted him to the sea-coast. Yet in the midst of their officious expedition they met with ■■■ delay. The Marician grove, which they hold sacred, and suffer nothing that enters it to be removed, lay immediately in their way.—Consequently they could ■■■ ■■■ through it, and to go round it would be tedious. At last ■■ old ■■■ of the company cried out, that ■■ place, however religious, ■■■ inaccessible, if it could contribute ■■ the preservation of Marius. No sooner had he said this, than he took ■■■ of the baggage in his hand, and marched through the place. The ■■■ followed with the ■■■ alacrity, and when Marius ■■■ ■■ the sea-coast, ■■ found ■■ vessel provided for him, by ■■ Belæus. Some time after he presented ■■ picture representing this ■■■ ■■ temple of Marica.² When Marius ■■■ sail, the wind drove him to the island of Æneria, where ■■ found Granus and ■■■ other friends, and with them he sailed for Africa. Being in want of fresh water, they ■■■ obliged to put in ■■ Sicily, where the Roman Quæstor kept such strict watch, that Marius very narrowly escaped, and no fewer than sixteen of ■■ watermen ■■■ killed. From

¹ All that was extraordinary in this circumstance was, that ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ sheep, is seldom seen to drink.

² ■■■ mentions this nymph, *Æna* 7. —■² nymphæ prædictæ Laurentis ■■■ riva.

thence immediately sailed to the island of Meninx, where he first heard that his son had escaped with Cethegus, and gone to implore the succour of Hiempsal, king of Numidia. This gave him encouragement, and immediately he ventured for Carthage.

The Roman governor in Africa, was Sextilius. He had neither received favour nor injury from Marius, but the exile hoped for something more than pity. He was just landed, with a few of his men, when the officer and thus addressed him: "Marius, I am from the prætor Sextilius, to tell you, that he forbids you to set foot in Africa. If you obey not, he will support the senate's decree, and make you a public enemy." Marius, upon hearing this, was struck dumb with grief and indignation. He uttered a word for some time, but stood regarding the officer with a menacing aspect. At length the officer asked him, what he should carry to the governor. "Go and tell him," said the unfortunate man with a sigh, "that thou hast seen the exile Marius sitting on the ruins of Carthage."¹ Thus in the happiest manner in the world, he proposed the fate of that city and his own as warnings to the prætor.

In the meantime, Hiempsal, king of Numidia, was unresolved how to act with respect to young Marius. He treated him in an honourable manner at his court, but whenever he desired leave to depart, found some pretence or other to detain him. At the same time it was plain, that these delays did not proceed from any intention of serving him. An accident, however, set him free. The young man was handsome. One of the king's concubines was affected with his misfortunes. Pity soon turned to love. At first he rejected the woman's advances. But when he saw no other way to gain his liberty, and found that her regards were rather delicate than gross, he accepted the tender of her heart; and by her means escaped with his friends, and returned to his father.

After the first salutations, as they walked along the shore, they saw two scorpions fighting. This appeared to Marius an ill omen; they went, therefore, to board a fishing boat, and made for Cercina, an island not far distant from the continent. They then got to sea, when they saw a party of the king's horse full speed towards the place where they embarked: so that Marius thought he was in more instant danger.

He was informed, that while Sylla was engaged in Bœotia with the lieutenants of Mithridates, a quarrel had happened between the consuls at Rome,² and that they had sent Octavius, having the advantage, drove out Cinna, who was aiming at absolute power, and appointed Cornelius Merula consul in his room. Cinna collected forces in other parts of Italy, and maintained the war against them. Marius, upon this news, determined to hasten to Cinna. He took with him some Marusian horse,

¹ There is not, perhaps, anything more noble, or a greater proof of genius, than this saying, in Marius's whole life.

² The year of Rome 666, B.C. 85. Cinna was far exceeding the odds, and Octavius was against it.

which he levied in Africa, and few others that he brought him from Italy, in amounting above 1,000 men, and with this handful began his voyage. He arrived at a port of Tuscany called Telamon, and as soon as he was landed proclaimed liberty to the slaves. The consul brought down numbers of freemen too, husbandmen, shepherds, and such like, to the shore; the ablest of which he enlisted, in a great army on foot, with which he knew Octavius a man of good principles, and disposed to govern agreeably to justice, but Cinna was obnoxious to his enemy Sylla, and that time in open against the established government. He resolved, therefore, to join Cinna with all his forces. Accordingly he acquainted him, that he considered him as consul, and ready to obey his commands. Cinna accepted his offer, declared him proconsul, and gave him the *fasces* and other ensigns of authority. But he declined them, alleging, that such pomp did but ruin fortunes. Instead of that, he *mean garment, and let his hair grow, as it had done from the day of his exile.* He was now, indeed, upwards of seventy years old, but he walked with a pace affectedly slow. This appearance was intended to excite compassion. Yet his fierceness and something more, might distinguish amidst all this look of misery. and it was evident that he was not much humbled, as exasperated, by his misfortunes.

When he had saluted Cinna, and made a speech to the army, he immediately began his operations, and soon changed the face of affairs. In the first place, he cut off the enemy's convoys with his fleet, plundered their storeships, and made himself master of the bread-corn. In the next place, he coasted along, and seized the sea-port towns. At last, Ostia itself was betrayed to him. He pillaged the town, slew most of the inhabitants, and threw a bridge across the Tiber, to prevent the carrying of any provisions to Rome by sea. Then he marched to Rome, and posted himself upon the hill called Janiculum.

Meanwhile, his cause did not suffer much by the incapacity of Octavius, as by his anxious and unseasonable laws. For, when many of his friends advised him to enfranchise the slaves, he said, "I would not grant such persons the freedom of that city, the defence of whose walls he shut Marius."

Upon the arrival of Metellus, the consul of that Metellus who commanded in the African war, and afterwards banished by Marius, he came within the walls leaving Octavius, applied to him, as the better officer, and entreated him to take the command; adding, that they should fight and conquer, though they had no general. Metellus, however, rejected their request with indignation, and bade them go back to the consul; instead of which, they went to the enemy. At last, he withdrew, giving up the city for lost.

Octavius, stayed, at the persuasion of certain diviners and expositors of the Sibylline books, who promised him

that all _____ Octavius _____ indeed one of _____ most upright _____ the Romans _____ he supported _____ dignity as _____ sul, without giving any ear to flatterers and regarded the laws and _____ usages of his country as rules _____ he departed from _____ he had _____ the weakness of superstition and spent more of his time with fortune tellers and prognosticators than with men of political _____ military abilities. However, before Marius entered _____ city, Octavius _____ dragged from the tribunal and slain by persons commissioned for that purpose, and it _____ said that a C _____ scheme was found in _____ bosom as he lay. It _____ intable, _____ of two such generals _____ Marius and Octavius, _____ one should _____ saved, and _____ other ruined, by _____ confidence _____ divination.

_____ were _____ this posture, the senate assembled, and _____ some of their _____ body to Cinna and Marius, with _____ request _____ they should _____ into _____ city, but spare the inhabitants. Cinna, _____, received them, sitting in his chair of state, and gave them _____ obliging _____. But Marius stood by the consul's chair, and spoke not a word. He showed, however, by the gloominess of his look, and the menacing sense of his eye, that he would _____ fill the city with blood. Immediately after this, they moved forwards towards Rome. Cinna entered the city with a strong guard, but Marius stopped _____ the gates, with _____ dissimulation dictated by his resentment. _____ said, "He was _____ banished man, _____ the laws prohibited his _____. If his country wanted his service, she _____ repeal the law which drove him into exile. As if he had the real regard for the laws, or were entering a city _____ in possession of its liberty."

The people, therefore, were summoned _____ assemble for that purpose. But before three or four tribes had given their suffrages, he put off the mask, and, without waiting for the formality of a repeal, entered with _____ guard selected from the slaves that had repaired to his standard. These he called his *Bardiæans*¹. At the least word or _____ given by Marius, they murdered all whom he marked for destruction. So that when Ancharius, a senator, and a man of prætorian dignity, saluted Marius, and he returned _____ salutation, they killed him _____ his presence. After this, they considered it _____ a signal to kill _____ man, who saluted Marius _____, and _____ taken any notice of _____ so that his very friends were _____ with horror, whenever they went to pay their respects _____ him.

_____ they _____ butchered great numbers, Cinna's revenge began to pall _____ satiated with blood, but the fury of Marius seemed _____ increase _____ his appetite for slaughter _____ sharpened by indulgence, _____ on destroying _____ who gave him the least shadow of suspicion. Every road, every town _____ full of assassins, pursuing and haunting the unhappy victims.

On this occasion _____ was found, _____ no obligations of friendship,

¹ M. De Thou conjectured _____ we should read *Bardiæans* because there was a fierce and barbarous people in Spain of that name _____ who have *Orléans*.

rights of hospitality can stand the shock of ill fortune. For there very few who did not betray that taken refuge in their houses. The slaves of Cornutus, therefore, deserve the highest admiration. They hid their master in the house, and took a dead body of the from among the slain and brought it by neck; then they put a gold ring upon the finger, and showed the corpse in condition Marius's executioners; after which they dressed for funeral, and buried their master's body. one suspected the matter; and Cornutus, after being concealed as long it necessary, was conveyed by those servants Galla.

Mark Antony the orator likewise found a faithful friend, but did his by it. This friend of his was in a low station of life, however, he had one of the greatest of Rome under his roof, entertained him in best manner he could, and often to a neighbouring for him. The finding that the servant who fetched it was something of a connoisseur in tasting the wine, and insisted having better, asked him, "Why he satisfied with the common wine he used, but wanted the best and the dearest?" The servant, the simplicity of his heart, told him, as his friend and acquaintance, that the for Mark Antony, who lay concealed in his master's house. As he was gone, the knowing vintner went himself to Marius, who then at supper; and told him he could put Antony into his power. Upon which, Marius clapped his hands the agitation of joy, and would even have left his company, and gone to the place himself, had not been dissuaded by his friends. However, he an officer named Annus, with some soldiers, and ordered him to bring the head of Antony. When they came the house, Annus stood at the door, while the soldiers got up by a ladder into Antony's chamber. When they him, they encouraged each other the execution; but such the power of his eloquence, when he pleaded for his life, that so far from laying hands upon him, they stood motionless, with dejected eyes, and wept. During this delay, Annus goes up, beholds Antony addressing the soldiers, and the soldiers confounded by the force of his address. Upon this, he reproved them for their weakness, and with his hand cut off the orator's head. Lutatius Catullus the colleague of Marius, who jointly triumphed with him over the Cimbri, finding that every intercessory effort vain, shut himself up a chamber, and suffered himself to be suffocated by the of a large coal fire. When the bodies thrown and trod upon the streets, was pity they excited; it horror and dismay. But what shocked the people much more, was the conduct of the Bardiæans who after they had murdered of families, exposed the nakedness their children, and indulged their passions with their. In short, their violence and rapacity beyond all restraint, till Cinna Sertorius determined in council to fall upon them their sleep, and cut them to a man.

At the tide of affairs took a sudden turn. News brought that Sylla had put an end to the Mithridatic war, and that having reduced the provinces, he was returning to Rome with a large army. This gave a short respite, a breathing from these expressible troubles; as the apprehensions of Sylla had been universally prevalent. Marius was now chosen consul the seventh time, and he was walking out on the calends of January, the first day of the year, he ordered Sextus Lucinius to be seized, and thrown down the Tarpeian rock, a circumstance, which occasioned an unhappy presage of approaching evils. The consul himself, worn with a series of misfortunes and distress, found his faculties fail, and trembled at the approach of Sylla and conflicts. For he considered that it was not Octavius, a Merula, desperate leaders of a small sedition, he had to contend with, but Sylla, the conqueror of Mithridates, and the banisher of Marius. Thus agitated, thus revolving the miseries, the flights, the dangers he experienced by land and sea, his inquietude affected him even by night, and a voice seemed continually to pronounce in his ear,

Dread are the slumbers of the distant lion.

Unable to support the painfulness of watching, he had recourse to the bottle, and gave in those excesses which by no means suited his years. At last, when, by intelligence from sea, he was convinced of the approach of Sylla, his apprehensions were heightened to the greatest degree. The dread of his approach, the pain of continual anxiety, threw him into a pleuritic fever; and in this state, Posidonius, the philosopher, tells us, he found him, when he went to speak to him on some affairs of his embassy. But Caius Plac the historian relates, that walking out with his friends one evening at supper, he gave them a short history of his life, and after patiating on the uncertainty of fortune, concluded that it was beneath the dignity of a wise man to live in subjection to that deity. Upon this, he took leave of his friends, and betaking himself to his bed, died seven days after. There were those who impute his death to the effects of his ambition, which, according to their account, threw him into delirium; insomuch that he fancied he was carrying the war against Mithridates, and uttered all the expressions used in his engagement. Such was the violence of his ambition for that.

Thus, at the age of seventy, distinguished by the unparalleled honour of seven consulships, and possessed of more than regal fortune, Marius died with the chagrin of an unfortunate wretch, who had obtained what he wanted.

Plato, at the point of death, congratulated himself, in the place, that he was born a man; in the place, that he was happy of being a Greek, not a brute or barbarian; and last of all, that he was the contemporary of Sophocles. Antipater of Tarsus, too, a little before his death, recollected the several advantages of his life, forgetting even his successful voyage to Athens. In settling his accounts with Fortune, he carefully entered every

agreeable in that excellent book mind, his memory. How much wiser, how much happier those, who, forgetful every blessing they have received, hang the vain and deceitful hand of hope, and while they idly, future acquisitions, neglect the enjoyment of the present though future gifts of fortune their power, and though their present possessions in the power of fortune, they look up the former neglect latter. Their punishment, however, less just than it is certain. Before philosophy and cultivation reason have laid a proper foundation for the of wealth power, they pursue with that avidity, which for harass an undisciplined mind.

Marius died on the seventeenth day of his seventh consulship. His death productive of the greatest joy Rome, citizens upon as an event that freed them from the of tyrannies not long, however, before they found that they changed an old and feeble tyrant, for who youth and vigour to carry his cruelties into execution. Such they found of Marius, whose sanguinary spirit showed itself in the destruction of numbers of the nobility. His martial intrepidity and ferocious behaviour at first procured him the title of the of Mars, but his conduct afterwards denominated him the of Venus. When he was besieged in Pieneste, and had tried little artifice escape, he put an end to his life, that he might not into the hands of Sylla.

SYLLA.

LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA was of a patrician family. One of his ancestors, named Rufinus,¹ is said have been consul, but to have under a disgrace than equivalent to that honour. *He was found have in his possession more than ten pounds of plate, which the law allow, and for that expelled the*. Hence it was, that his posterity continued in a low and obscure condition, and Sylla himself was born to a very scanty fortune. Even after grown up, he lived in hired lodgings, for which he paid but a small consideration, and afterwards reproached with it, when such opulence he no expect. For day, he was boasting of great things had Africa, a person of character made answer, "How thou an honest man, who master of such a fortune, though thy father

¹ Lucius Cornelius Rufinus was consul the first time in the year of Rome 463 and the second thirteen years after. He was expelled the senate two years after his consulship, when Q. Fabianus Lucullus, was consul.

Papirius censors. Velleius Paterculus tells us that he was in Rome from this Rufinus, who ought very well be, for between the consulship of Rufinus and the first consulship of Sylla there was a space of 126 years.

left ■■■ nothing?" ■■■ though the Romans ■■■ that ■■■ did ■■■ retain their ancient integrity and purity of manners, but ■■■ degenerated into luxury and expense, yet they considered it as ■■■ disgraceful ■■■ have departed from family poverty, than ■■■ have spent ■■■ paternal estate. And a long time after, when Sylla had made himself absolute, and put numbers to death, ■■■ man who was only ■■■ second of his family ■■■ was free, being condemned to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock, for concealing a friend of ■■■ that ■■■ in the proscription, spoke of Sylla in this upbraiding ■■■ "I am his old acquaintance; ■■■ lived long under the same roof; ■■■ hired the upper apartment at ■■■ sesterces, and he that under me at 3000." So that the difference between their fortunes ■■■ then only ■■■ sesterces, which in Attican money is 250 drachmas.

As ■■■ figure, ■■■ have the whole of it in his statues, except his eyes. They were of a lively ■■■, fierce and menacing; and the ferocity of his aspect was heightened by his complexion, which ■■■ a strong red, interspersed with spots of white. From his complexion, they tell us, he had the ■■■ of Sylla;¹ and ■■■ Athenian ■■■ drew the following jest from it:

"Sylla's a mulberry ■■■ o'er ■■■ meal."

Nor is it foreign to make these observations upon ■■■ man, who in his youth, before he emerged from obscurity was such ■■■ lover of drollery, that he spent his ■■■ with mimics and jesters, and went with them every length of riot. Nay, when in the height of ■■■ power, he would collect the ■■■ noted players and buffoons every day, and, in ■■■ manner unsuitable to his age and dignity, drink ■■■ and join with them in licentious wit, while business of consequence lay neglected. Indeed, Sylla would never admit of anything serious ■■■ his table; and though ■■■ other times ■■■ of business, and rather grave and austere in his manner, he would change instantaneously, whenever he had company, and begin a carousal. So that ■■■ buffoons ■■■ dancers he was the most affable man in the world, the ■■■ easy of access, and they moulded him just as they pleased.

To this dissipation may be imputed his libidinous attachments, his disorderly and infamous love of pleasure, which stuck by him even in age. One of his mistresses, named Nicopolis, ■■■ ■■■ courtesan, but very rich. She was so taken with ■■■ company and the beauty of his person, that she entertained a real passion for him, and at her death appointed him her heir. His mother-in-law, who loved ■■■ as her ■■■ son, likewise left him her estate. With these additions to ■■■ fortune, he ■■■ tolerably provided for.

■■■ was appointed questor to Marius in his first consulship, ■■■ ■■■ with him into Africa ■■■ carry on the ■■■ with Jugurtha. In the military department he gained great honour, and, among other things, availed himself of an opportunity to make a ■■■ of Bocchus, king of Numidia. ■■■ ambassadors of that prince ■■■ just escaped ■■■ of the hands of robbers, and ■■■ in a very in-

¹ *Sili* or *Syl* is a yellow kind of earth, which, when burned, becomes red. Hence

Syllaceus Color in Vitruvius signifies purple.

condition, when Sylla sent them back with a strong guard

Bocchus, for a long time and his in Jugurtha, him then at his court. He had taken refuge there after his defeat, and Bocchus, now meditating to betray him, chose rather to let Sylla have him than to deliver him up himself. Sylla communicated the affair to Marius, and taking party with him, upon the expedition, dangerous it was. What, indeed, could be more so, than in hopes of getting another man into his power trust himself with a barbarian who was treacherous in his relations? In fact, when Bocchus sent him his proposal, that he was under necessity to betray either the one or the other, he debated long with himself which should be the better. At last, he determined to abide by his resolution, and gave up Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla.

He procured Marius a triumph, but envy ascribed the glory of it to Sylla, which Marius in his heart a little resented. Especially when he found that Sylla, who was naturally fond of fame, and from a low and obscure condition now came to general esteem, let his ambition carry him so far as to give orders for a signet to be engraved with a representation of this adventure, which he constantly used in sealing his letters. The device was, Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha, and Sylla receiving him.

This touched Marius to the quick. However, he thought Sylla not considerable enough to be the object of envy, he continued to employ him in his wars. Thus, in his second consulship, he made him one of his lieutenants, and in his third gave him the command of 1000 men. Sylla, in these several capacities, performed many important services. In that of lieutenant, he took Copilius, chief of the Tectosages, prisoner, and in that of tribune, he persuaded the great and populous cities of the East to declare themselves friends and allies of the Romans. But finding Marius uneasy at his success, and that, instead of giving him new enemies to distinguish himself, he rather opposed his advancement, he applied to Catullus, his colleague of Marius.

Catullus was a worthy man, but wanted the vigour which was necessary for action. He therefore employed Sylla in the most difficult enterprises, which opened him a fine field both of honour and power. He subdued some of the barbarians that inhabited the Alps, and in a time of scarcity undertook to procure a supply of provisions, which he performed so effectually, that there was only abundance in the camp of Catullus, but the overplus served that of Marius.

Sylla himself writes, that he was greatly afflicted by this circumstance. From small beginnings that enmity, which afterwards grew up in blood, and was nourished by civil wars and the rage of faction, till it ended in tyranny and confusion of the whole. This shows how wise a man Euripides was, and how well understood despotic government,

At his return, Censorinus prepared to accuse him ■ extortion, ■ drawing, contrary to law, ■ sums from a kingdom th ■ was in alliance with Rome. He did not, however, bring it ■ a trial, but dropped ■ intended impeachment.

The quarrel between Sylla and ■ broke ■ on ■ following ■ Bocchus, ■ make his ■ to the people of Rome, and to Sylla at the ■ time, ■ officious as ■ dedicate several images of victory in the Capitol, and close by them a figure of Jugurtha ■ gold, ■ form ■ had delivered him up ■ Sylla Marius, unable to digest the affront, prepared ■ pull them down, ■ Sylla's friends ■ determined ■ hinder ■ Between them ■ whole city ■ ■ flame, when the confederate war, which had long lain smothered, broke out, and for ■ present put ■ stop to the ■.

In this great war, which ■ ■ in ■ fortune, and brought so many mischiefs and dangers upon the Romans, it appeared from the ■ execution Marius did, that military skill requires ■ strong and vigorous constitution to second it. Sylla, on the other hand, performed ■ many memorable things, that the citizens looked upon him ■ as a great general, his friends as the greatest ■ the world, and his enemies as the ■ fortunate. Nor did he behave, ■th respect to that nation, like Timotheus the son of Conon. The enemies of that Athenian ascribed all his success to fortune and got a picture drawn, in which ■ was represented asleep, and Fortune by his side taking cities for him in her net. Upon this he gave way ■ an indecent passion, and complained that he ■ robbed of the glory due to his achievements. Nay, afterwards, on his return ■ a certain expedition, he addressed the people in these terms—"My fellow-citizens you must acknowledge that ■ this, Fortune ■ no share." It is said, the goddess piqued herself so far ■ being revenged ■ this vanity of Timotheus, that he could never do anything extraordinary afterwards, but was ■ all his undertakings, and became ■ obnoxious to the people, that they banished him.

Sylla took a different ■. It not only gave him pleasure ■ hear his ■ imputed ■ Fortune, but he encouraged the opinion, thinking ■ added in ■ of greatness, and ■ divinity to his actions. Whether he ■ this out of vanity, ■ from a real persuasion of ■ truth ■ cannot say. However, he writes ■ his Commentaries, "That his instantaneous resolutions, and enterprises executed in a manner different from what ■ had intended, always succeeded better than those on which he bestowed ■ time and forethought." It is plain ■ from that saying of his, "That ■ born rather for fortune than war," that he attributed ■ to fortune than ■ valour. In short, he makes himself entirely ■ of Fortune, since he ascribes to her divine influence the good understanding that always subsisted between him and Metellus, a man ■ the ■ sphere of ■ with himself, and his father-in-law. For, whereas ■ expected ■ find him a ■ troublesome in office, ■ proved ■ the contrary, a quiet and obliging colleague. Add to this,

that the Commentaries inscribed to Lucullus, *he advises* *depend upon nothing* *which Heaven directed him* *visions of night*. He tells us further, that when *was* *the head of an army against the confederates,* *earth opened on a sudden* *Lavinia*,¹ and that there issued *the chasm, which* *very large,* *a vast quantity of fire, and a flame that shot up to the heavens*. The soothsayers being consulted upon it, made answer, "That *a person of courage and superior beauty, should take the reins of government into his hands, and suppress the tumults with which Rome was then agitated*" Sylla says, *the man, for* *locks of gold were sufficient proof of his beauty, and that he needed* *hesitate, after* *many great actions* *himself a man* *courage*.

In other respects he *so consistent with himself* *pricious* *a high degree, but still more liberal, in preferring* *disgracing whom he pleased, equally unaccountable, submissive* *those who might* *of service to him, and* *those who wanted* *from him* *that it* *hard* *whether he* *insolent or servile in his nature*. Such was his inconsistency in punishing that he would sometimes put men to the most cruel tortures *the slightest grounds and sometimes overlook the greatest crimes, he would easily take some persons into favour after the* *unpardonable offences, while he took vengeance of others for small and trifling faults by death and confiscation of goods*. These things cannot be otherwise reconciled, than by concluding that he was *and vindictive in his temper, but occasionally checked those inclinations, where his own interest was concerned*.

In this very *with the confederates, his soldiers despatched, with clubs and stones, a lieutenant of his, named Albinus, who had been honoured with the prætorship, yet he suffered them, after such a crime, to escape with impunity*. *only took* *from thence to boast, that he should find they would exert themselves more during the* *of the war, because they would endeavour to* *for that offence by extraordinary acts of valour*. The *incurred* *this* *not affect him*. His *object* *destruction of Marius, and finding that (A U C 665, the confederate war* *drawing towards an end, he paid his* *to* *army, that* *might be appointed general against Marius*. Upon his *Rome he* *erected consul with Quinctius Pompeius, being then fifty years old and at the* *time he entered* *advantageous marriage with Cæcilia, daughter of Metellus the high priest*. This match occasioned *good* *of popular* *Sarcastical* *made upon* *and according* *Livy's* *count, many of the principal citizens invidiously thought him unworthy of the* *alliance, though they had not thought him unworthy of the consulship*. This lady *not his first wife,* *in the early part of his* *he married* *Itha, by whom* *a daughter,*

¹ In the Salernum way there was a grove and temple consecrated to the goddess Lavinia.

afterwards [REDACTED] espoused [REDACTED] [REDACTED] her Coelia, whom, on [REDACTED] count of her barrenness, he repudiated, without [REDACTED] other marks of [REDACTED] and dismissed with valuable presents. However, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] after married Metella, [REDACTED] dismissal of Calpurnia became [REDACTED] object of [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] he always treated with the [REDACTED] aspect, inasmuch [REDACTED] when the people of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] desirous that he should recall the exiles of Marius's party, and could [REDACTED] prevail with him, they entreated Metella [REDACTED] [REDACTED] her good offices for them. It [REDACTED] thought, too, that when [REDACTED] took Athens, that city had harder usage, because [REDACTED] inhabitants [REDACTED] jested vilely on Metella from the walls.

The consulship [REDACTED] [REDACTED] but of small consideration with [REDACTED] in comparison of [REDACTED] he had in view. His heart [REDACTED] fixed on obtaining the conduct of the Mithridatic [REDACTED]. In this [REDACTED] [REDACTED] had [REDACTED] rival in Marius, who [REDACTED] possessed with [REDACTED] ill timed ambition and madness for some passions which never grow old. Though now unwieldy [REDACTED] his pe [REDACTED] and obliged, on account of his age, [REDACTED] give up his share in the expeditions near home, he wanted the direction of foreign wars. This man, watching his opportunity in Rome, when Sylla [REDACTED] gone to the camp to settle some [REDACTED] that remained unfinished, fanned that fatal sedition, which hurt her [REDACTED] effectually than [REDACTED] the [REDACTED] she had ever been engaged in. Heaven [REDACTED] prodigies [REDACTED] prefigure it. Fire blazed out of its own accord from the ensign statues, and was with difficulty extinguished. Three ravens brought their young into [REDACTED] city, and devoured them there, and then carried the remains back to their nests. Some rats having gnawed the consecrated gold in a certain temple, the [REDACTED] caught [REDACTED] of them in a trap, where she brought forth five young ones, and eat three of them. [REDACTED] what was most considerable, [REDACTED] day, when the sky [REDACTED] [REDACTED] and clear, there [REDACTED] heard in it [REDACTED] sound of a trumpet, [REDACTED] loud, [REDACTED] shrill, and mournful, that it frightened and astonished all the world. The Tuscan sages said [REDACTED] portended [REDACTED] [REDACTED] of men, and a renovation of the world. For they observed, that these [REDACTED] eight several kinds of men, all different in life and manners. That Heaven had allotted each its time, which [REDACTED] limited by the circuit of the great year, and that when [REDACTED] came to [REDACTED] period, and another race [REDACTED] rising, it [REDACTED] announced by [REDACTED] wonderful sign either from earth or from heaven. So that [REDACTED] [REDACTED] evident, at [REDACTED] view, [REDACTED] those who attended [REDACTED] these things, and [REDACTED] versed in them, that a new sort of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] the world, with other [REDACTED] and customs, and [REDACTED] or less the [REDACTED] of the gods than those who preceded them. They added, that [REDACTED] this revolution of ages many strange alterations happened. [REDACTED] divination, for instance, should be [REDACTED] in great honour in some [REDACTED] age, and prove successful in [REDACTED] [REDACTED] predictions, because the Deity afforded pure and perfect [REDACTED] [REDACTED] proceed by, whereas in another [REDACTED] should be [REDACTED] small repute, being mostly extemporeaneous, and calculating future [REDACTED] from [REDACTED] and obscure principles. Such was the mythology of the most learned and respectable of the Tuscan soothsayers. While [REDACTED] senate [REDACTED] attending [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

interpretations ■ the temple of Bellona, ■ sparrow, in sight of the whole body, brought in a grasshopper in her mouth, and after ■ had ■ it in two, left ■ part among them, and carried the other ■ The diviners declared, they apprehended from this ■ danger- ■ sedition, and dispute between the town and ■ country. For the inhabitants of the town ■ noisy, like the grasshopper, ■ those of the country ■ domestic beings like the sparrow

Soon after this Marius got Sulpitius to join him This ■ was inferior to ■ ■ desperate attempts Indeed, instead of inquiring for another more emphatically wicked, you ■ ■ ■ what ■ ■ of wickedness he exceeded himself He ■ ■ compound of cruelty, impudence, and avarice, and he could ■ the ■ horrid and infamous of crimes in cold blood He ■ the freedom of Rome openly ■ persons that had been slaves, ■ well ■ ■ strangers, and had the money ■ ■ upon a table in ■ forum, He ■ always about him ■ guard of 300 men well armed, and a company of young men of the equestrian order, whom he called his antenate Though he got ■ law made, that ■ senator should ■ tract debts ■ the ■ of more than ■ ■ diachmas, yet ■ appeared at his death that he owed more than three millions This wretch ■ let loose upon the people by Marius, and carried all before him by dint of sword Among other bad edicts which he procured, one was that which gave the command in the Mithridatic war to M ■ ■ Upon this the consuls ordered ■ the ■ to be shut up But ■ day as they were holding ■ assembly before the temple of Castor and Pollux, he ■ his ruffians upon them, ■ many ■ slain The son of Pompey the consul, who ■ yet but a youth, ■ of the number, Pompey concealed himself, and saved his life Sylla ■ pursued ■ the house of Marius, and forced from thence to the forum, to revoke the order for the cessation of public business For this reason Sulpitius, when he deprived Pompey of the consulship, continued Sylla in it, and only transferred the conduct of the ■ with Mithridates to Marius In consequence of this, he immediately ■ ■ military tribunes to Nola, to receive the army ■ the hands of Sylla, and bring it ■ Marius But Sylla got before them to the camp, and his soldiers ■ no sooner acquainted with the ■ of those officers than they stoned them ■ death

Marius ■ ■ dipped his hands ■ the blood of Sylla's friends in Rome, and ordered their houses to be plundered Nothing now ■ be ■ but hurry and confusion, ■ flying from the camp ■ the city, and ■ from the city to the camp ■ ■ ■ no longer free, but under the direction of Marius and Sulpitius ■ that when they ■ informed that Sylla ■ marching towards Rome, they ■ two prætors, Brutus and Servilius, ■ stop him As they delivered their orders with some haughtiness ■ Sylla, the soldiers prepared to kill them, but at last contented themselves with breaking their fasces, tearing off their robes, ■ sending ■ away with every mark of disgrace.

The very sight of them, robbed ■ they were of ■ ensigns of

their authority, spread consternation in Rome, and denounced sedition, for which was no longer either restraint or remedy. Marius prepared to repel force with force. Sylla moved from Nola the head of six complete legions, and his colleague along with him. His army, he saw, ready the first word march to Rome, but he was unresolved in his mind, and apprehensive of the danger. However, upon his offering sacrifice, the soothsayer Posthumius had inspected the entrails, than he stretched out both his hands to Sylla, and proposed to be kept in chains till after the battle, in order the of punishments, if everything succeed entirely to general's wish. It is said, too, that there appeared Sylla in a dream, goddess whose worship the Romans received from the Cappadocians, whether it be the Moon, Minerva, or Bellona. She seemed stand by him, and put thunder in his hand, and having called his enemies by one after another, bade him strike them: they fell, and consumed by it to ashes. Encouraged by this vision, which he related morning his colleague, he took his way towards Rome.

When he had reached Picinæ,¹ he met by an embassy, that entreated him not to advance in that hostile manner, since the senate had to a resolution to do him all the justice he could desire. He promised grant they asked; and, if he intended encamp there, ordered his officers, as usual, to mark out the ground. The ambassadors took their leave with entire confidence in his honour. But as soon as they were gone, he despatched Basilus and Calus Mummius, to make themselves masters of the gate and the wall by the Æsculine. He himself followed with the utmost expedition. Accordingly Basilus and his party seized the gate and entered the city. But the unarmed multitude got upon the tops of the houses, and with stones and tiles drove them back to the foot of the wall. At that moment Sylla arrived, and seeing opposition soldiers met with, called out to them set fire to the houses. He took a flaming torch in his own hands, and advanced before them. At the same time he ordered his archers shoot fire-arrows at the roofs. Reason had no longer any power over him; passion and fury governed all his motions; his enemies he thought of; and the thirst for vengeance, made no account of his friends, took the least compassion on his relations. Such the case, when he made his way with fire, which makes distinction between the innocent and the guilty.

Meanwhile, Marius, who was driven back to the temple of Vesta, proclaimed liberty to slaves that would repair his standard. But the enemy pressed with much vigour, and forced him to quit the city.

¹ Being so near Nola, and called Picinæ, Lobbes thinks we must mean Picinæ, which was a

of public entertainment from the capital. Antonius (in his Itinerary) it as

Sylla immediately assembled the senate, and got Marius, and a few others, condemned. The tribune Sulpitius, who was of the number, was betrayed by one of his own slaves, brought the block. Sylla gave the slave his freedom, then had him thrown down the Tarpeian rock. As for [redacted], a price upon his head, in which he behaved neither with gratitude nor good policy, [redacted] had not long before [redacted] the house of Marius, and put his [redacted] in his hands, and yet [redacted] dismissed safely. [redacted] Marius, instead of letting him go, given him Sulpitius, who thirsted for his blood, he might have been absolute [redacted] of Rome. But [redacted] spared his enemy, [redacted] a few days after, when there [redacted] opportunity for his return, [redacted] not with [redacted] generous [redacted].

The [redacted] did [redacted] express the concern which this gave them. But [redacted] people openly and by facts showed their [redacted] and resolution [redacted] make reprisals. For they rejected [redacted] nephew Nonius, who relied on his recommendation, and his fellow-candidate Servius, [redacted] ignominious manner, and appointed others to the consulship, whose promotion they thought would [redacted] disagreeable to him. Sylla pretended great satisfaction [redacted] the thing, and said, "He [redacted] quite happy [redacted] see the people by his [redacted] enjoy the liberty of proceeding as they thought proper." Nay, to obviate their hatred, he proposed Lucius Cinna, [redacted] of the opposite faction, for consul, but first laid him under the sanction of a solemn oath, to assist him in all his affairs. Cinna went up to the Capitol with a [redacted] in his hand. There he swore before all the world, to preserve the friendship between them inviolable, adding this imprecation, *"If I be guilty of any breach of it, may I be driven from the city, as this stone is from my hand!"* at the [redacted] time he threw [redacted] stone upon the ground. Yet, [redacted] soon [redacted] he [redacted] entered upon his office, he began [redacted] new commotions, and set [redacted] an [redacted] impeachment against Sylla, of which Verginius, [redacted] of the tribunes, [redacted] to be the manager. But Sylla [redacted] both the manager and the impeachment behind him and [redacted] forward against Mithridates.

About [redacted] time that Sylla [redacted] from Italy, Mithridates, we [redacted] told, [redacted] visited with many [redacted] presages at Pergamus. Among the [redacted] image of Victory, bearing a crown, which [redacted] contrived to [redacted] down by a machine, broke just as it [redacted] going to put the crown upon his [redacted], and the crown itself [redacted] dashed [redacted] pieces upon the floor of [redacted] thea[redacted]. The people of Pergamus [redacted] seized [redacted] astonishment, and Mithridates felt no small concern, though his affairs then prospered beyond his hopes. For [redacted] taken Asia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia from their respective kings, and was [redacted] down [redacted] quiet at Pergamus, disposing [redacted] rich govern[redacted] and kingdoms among his friends [redacted] pleasure. As [redacted] his sons, the eldest governed in peace [redacted] kingdoms of Pontus and Bosphorus, extending as far [redacted] the deserts above the Maeotic lake, [redacted] other, named Ariarthes, [redacted] subduing Thrace and [redacted] with a great army. His generals with their armies were reducing other considerable places. The principal of these

was Archelaus, who commanded the ■■■ with his fleet, was ■■■ quering the Cyclades, and ■■■ the other islands within the bay of Malea, and ■■■ of Lubra itself. He met, indeed, with some check at Charonea. There Brutus Sura, lieutenant ■■■ Sentius, who commanded in Macedonia, a man distinguished by his courage and capriciousness, opposed Archelaus, who ■■■ overflowing Boeotia like a torrent, defeated him in three engagements ■■■ Charonea, and confined him again to the ■■■ But, as Lucius Lucullus came and ordered ■■■ ■■■ give place to Sylla, to whom that province, and the conduct of the ■■■ there, ■■■ decreed, he immediately quitted Boeotia, and returned ■■■ Sentius, though his ■■■ ■■■ beyond all that ■■■ could have flattered himself with, and Greece ■■■ ready to declare ■■■ for the Romans on account of his valour ■■■ conduct. These were the ■■■ shining ■■■ of Brutus's life.

When Sylla ■■■ arrived, the cities sent ambassadors with an offer of opening their gates ■■■ him. Athens alone was ■■■ by ■■■ tyrant Aristion for Mithridates. He therefore attacked ■■■ with ■■■ utmost vigour, invested the Piræus, brought up all sorts of engines, and left no kind of assault whatever unattempted. Had he waited ■■■ while, he might without the least danger have taken the upper town, which was already reduced by famine to the last extremity. But his haste to return ■■■ Rome, where he apprehended ■■■ change in affairs to ■■■ prejudice, made him run every risk, and spare neither men nor money, to bring this war to a conclusion. For, besides his other warlike equipage, he had 10,000 yoke of mules, which worked every day at the engines. As wood began to fail, by reason of the immense weights which broke down his machines, or then being burned by the enemy, he cut down the sacred groves. The shady walks of the Academy and the Lycæum ■■■ the suburbs fell before his axe. And as the war required vast sums of money ■■■ support it, he scrupled not ■■■ violate the holy treasures of Greece, but took from Epidaurus, ■■■ well ■■■ Olympia, the ■■■ beautiful and precious of their gifts. He wrote also to the Amphictyones at Delphi, "That it would be best for them to put the ■■■ of Apollo in his hands: for either he would keep them safer than he could, or, if he applied them to his own use, would return the full value." Caphis ■■■ Phocian, ■■■ of his friends, ■■■ sent upon this ■■■ mission, and ordered to have everything weighed to him. Caphis ■■■ to Delphi, but ■■■ loath to touch the sacred deposits, ■■■ lamented ■■■ the Amphictyones the necessity he ■■■ ■■■ with many ■■■ Some said, they heard the ■■■ of the lyre ■■■ the inmost sanctuary, and Caphis, either believing it, ■■■ willing ■■■ strike Sylla with ■■■ religious terror, ■■■ him an ■■■ of ■■■ But ■■■ wrote back ■■■ ■■■ jesting way, "That he was surprised Caphis ■■■ ■■■ know that ■■■ ■■■ the voice of joy, ■■■ ■■■ of resentment. He might, therefore, boldly take the treasures, ■■■ Apollo ■■■ him ■■■ with the ■■■ satisfaction."

These treasures ■■■ carried off, without being ■■■ by many of the Greeks. But, of the royal offering, there remained ■■■ silver urn, which being ■■■ large and heavy, ■■■ no carriage could bear it, the

Amphictyones obliged to cut it in pieces. At this, they called to mind, one while, Acilius, and another while, Paulus Æmilius; one of which having driven Antiochus of Greece, and the other the kings of Macedonia, they kept their hands from spoiling the Grecian temples, but passed their regard and for them by adding gifts. Those great men, indeed, were legally commissioned, and their souldiers were persons of sober minds, who learned to obey generals without murmuring. The generals, with magnanimity kings, exceeded private persons in their expenses, brought upon the any charge but what and reasonable. In short, they thought it less disgrace to flatter their men, than be afraid of the enemy. But the commanders of these times raised themselves to high posts by force, by merit; and as they wanted soldiers to fight their countrymen rather than any foreign enemies, they were obliged to them with great complaisance. While they thus bought their service, at the price of ministering their vices, they they selling their country; and making themselves slaves to the of mankind, in order to command the greatest and the best. This banished Marius from Rome, and afterwards brought back against Sylla. This made Cinna dip his hands in the of Octavius, and Fimbria the assassin of Flaccus.

Sylla opened one of the first sources of this corruption. For, to draw the troops of other officers from them, he lavishly supplied the wants of his own. Thus, while by one and the means he was inviting the former to desertion, and the latter to luxury, he had occasion for infinite sums, and particularly in this siege. For his passion for taking Athens irresistibly violent: whether it was, that wanted to fight against that city's ancient renown, of which nothing but the shadow remained; or whether he could bear the scoffs and taunts, with which Aristion, in all the of ribaldry, insulted him and Metella from the walls.

The composition of this tyrant's heart insolence and cruelty. the sink of all the and vices of Mithridates. Poor Athens, which had got clear of innumerable wars, tyrannies, and seditious, perished at last by this monster, by a deadly disease. A bushel of wheat was now sold there for 1,000 drachmas. The people only the herbs that grew about the citadel, but sodden leather and bags; while he indulging in riotous feasts and dancing in the day-time, or mimicking laughing his enemy. He let the sacred lamp of the goddess go for of oil, and when principal priestess sent to half a of barley, he sent her that quantity of pepper. The priests to entreat him to take compassion on city, to capitulate Sylla, but received them with a shower of arrows. At when it was late, agreed with much difficulty to send two or three of the companions of his riots of peace. These, making any proposals that tended to city, talked in a lofty about Theseus, and

Eumolpus, at [] conquest [] the Medes ; which provoked [] say, "Go, my [] souls, [] back your [] speeches with you. For my part, I [] sent to Athens [] learn its anti-
quities, [] chastise [] rebellious people."

[] the meantime, Sylla's spies heard some old [] who [] conversing together [] the Ceramicus, blame [] tyr[] [] securing [] [] the Heptachalcos, [] [] the only place [] impregnable. They carried this news [] Sylla ; and he, [] from disregarding it, went by night to take a view of that part [] the wall, and found [] it might be scaled. [] [] immediately about it ; [] [] tells [] [] Commentaries, [] Marcus Teius¹ was [] [] man who mounted the wall. Teius there met with [] adversary, and gave him such a violent blow [] the skull [] he broke his [] ; notwithstanding which [] stood [] [] kept his place.

Athens,² therefore, was taken, as the old [] [] foretold. Sylla having levelled with the ground [] that [] between the Piræan [] and that called the Sacred, entered the town [] midnight, in a [] the [] dreadful that can be conceived. All the trumpets and horns sounded, and [] answered by the shouts and clang of the soldiers, let loose to plunder and destroy. They rushed up [] the streets with drawn swords, and horrible was the slaughter they made. The number of the killed could not be computed ; but [] may form some judgment of it, by the quantity [] ground which was overflowed with blood. For, besides those that fell in other parts of the city, the blood that was shed in the market-place only, covered [] the Ceramicus as far [] Dipylon. Nay, there are several who assure us, it ran through the gates, and overspread the suburbs.

But though such numbers were put [] the sword, there were [] many who laid violent hands upon themselves, in grief for their sinking country. What reduced [] best men among them [] this despair of finding any mercy or moderate [] for Athens, was [] well-known cruelty of Sylla. Yet partly by [] intercession [] [] Calliphon, and the [] who threw themselves [] feet, partly by [] entreaties of [] [] who attended him [] that expedition, and being [] satiated with blood besides, [] was [] last prevailed upon to [] his hand ; and, in compliment to the ancient Athenians, he said, "*He forgave [] [] for [] sake of the few, the living for the dead.*"

He [] [] [] Commentaries, that he took Athens [] the calends of March, which falls in with the new moon in the [] Anthesterion ; when [] Athenians [] performing [] rites [] [] of [] destruction of the country by water ; [] the deluge was believed [] have happened about [] [] of the year.³

The city thus taken, the tyrant retired into the citadel, and was

¹ Pro[] [] would be Athens. In the life of Crassus [] [] [] as a tribune of the people.

² Athens was taken 84 years B.C.

³ The deluge of Ogyges happened in Attica near 1,500 years before.

besieged there by Curio, to Sylla that charge. In a considerable time, but at last forced to surrender of it. In this the will of Heaven very visible. For on very same day and hour that Aristion brought out, the sky, which before perfectly serene, grew black with clouds, and a quantity of rain fell, quite overflowed the citadel. Soon this, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus; and of it he laid to ashes, and among the rest, that admirable work, the arsenal, built by Philo.

During these transactions, Tassiles, Mithridates's general, down Thrace and Macedonia, with 100,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 90 chariots armed with scythes, and desire Archelaus to meet him there. Archelaus then station at Munychia, and neither chose to quit the sea, nor yet fight the Romans, but persuaded his part to protract the war, and the enemy's convoys. Sylla better than he the distress might be in provisions, and therefore moved from that barren country, which scarce sufficient to maintain troops in time of peace, and led them into Boeotia. Most people thought this in his counsels, to quit the rocks of Attica where horse could hardly act, and expose himself on the large and open plains of Boeotia, when he knew the chief strength of the barbarians consisted in cavalry and chariots. But to avoid hunger and famine, he was forced to hazard a battle. Besides, he was in pain for Hortensius, a man of great and enterprising spirit, who was bringing him considerable reinforcements from Thessaly, and watched by the barbarians in the straits. As for Hortensius, Caphis, a countryman of ours, led him another way, and disappointed the barbarians. He conducted him by mount Parnassus to Tithora, which a large city, but then only a fort situated on the brow of a steep precipice, where the Phocians of took refuge, when Xerxes invaded their country. Hortensius, having pitched his tents there, in the day-time kept off the enemy: and in the night made his way down broken rocks to Patronis, where Sylla him with all his forces.

Thus united, they took possession of a fertile hill, in of the plains of Elateia, well sheltered with trees, and watered at the bottom. It is called Philobœotus, and is much commended by Sylla for the fruitfulness of its soil and its agreeable situation. When they encamped, they appeared the enemy no than a handful. They had not indeed above 1,500 horse, and quite 15,000 foot. The other generals in a manner forced Archelaus upon action; and when they came to put their forces in order of battle, they filled the whole plain with horses, chariots, bucklers, and targets. The clamour and hideous roar of so many nations, ranked thick together, seemed to rend the sky; the pomp and splendour of their appearance was not without use exciting terror. The lustre of their arms, which richly adorned with silver, the of their and Scythian vests, intermixed with brass and polished steel, when troops

were in motion, kindled the air with an awful [] of lightning.

The Romans in great consternation, shut themselves within their trenches. Sylla could not [] arguments [] their []; and [] not choose [] force them into the field [] dispirited condition, he sat still, and bore, though with great reluctance, [] vain boasts and insults of the barbarians. This [] more service [] him than any other [] could have adopted. The enemy, who [] him in great contempt, and [] very obedient [] their own generals, by reason of their number [] forgot all discipline, and [] few of them remained within [] entrenchments. Invited by rapine and plunder, the greatest part had dispersed themselves, and [] got several days' journey from the camp. [] these excursions, it is said, they ruined [] city of Panopea, [] Lebadia, and pillaged a temple where oracles [] delivered without orders from any [] of their generals.

Sylla, full of sorrow and indignation [] have [] cities destroyed before his eyes, [] willing to try what effect labour would have upon his soldiers. He compelled them to dig trenches, [] draw [] Cephissus from its channel, and made them work [] it without intermission; standing inspector [], and severely punishing all whom he found remiss. [] view in this [] to tire them with labour, that they might give the preference to danger; and it answered [] end he proposed. On the third day of their drudgery, [] Sylla passed by, they called out [] lead them against the enemy. Sylla said, "It is [] any inclination [] fight, but an unwillingness [] work, that puts you upon this request. If you really want to come to [] engagement, go, sword in hand, and seize that post immediately." At the same time he pointed to the place, [] had formerly stood the citadel of the Paropotamians, but all the buildings were [] demolished, and there was nothing left but a craggy and steep mountain, just separated from mount Edyllum by the river Assus, which [] the foot of the mountain falls into the Cephissus. The river growing very rapid by this confluence, makes the ridge [] safe place for an encampment. Sylla seeing those of the enemy's troops called Chalcaspides, hasting to seize that post, wanted [] gain it before them, and by availing himself of the present spirit of his men, he succeeded. Archelaus, upon this disappointment, turned [] against Chazronea; the inhabitants, in consequence of their former connections with Sylla, entreated him [] to desert the place; upon which [] along with them the military tribune Gabinus with [] legion. The Chazroneans, with all their ardour to reach [] city, did [] arrive [] than Gabinus; such was his honour, when engaged in their defence, that it [] eclipsed [] zeal of those who implored his assistance. Juba tells us, that it was not Gabinus but Ericlus,¹

¹ It is probable, it should be read Hirtius; for so some manuscripts have it,

where the same person is [] again afterwards.

■■■ despatched ■■ this occasion. ■■ ■■ situation, however, ■■ city of Chæronæa.

The ■■■ received ■■ Lebadia ■■ of Trophonius very agreeable accounts of oracles, that promised victory. The inhabitants ■■ country tell ■■ many stories about them ; but what Sylla himself writes, in the ■■ book of ■■ Commentaries, ■■ this : Quintus Titius, a man of ■■ among the Romans employed in Greece, ■■ to him ■■ day after ■■ gained the battle of Chæronæa, and told him, that Trophonius ■■ another battle ■■ be fought shortly in the ■■ place, in which he should likewise prove victorious. After him, ■■ a private soldier of his own, with a promise from heaven of ■■ glorious success that would attend ■■ in Italy. Both agreed ■■ the ■■ in which these prophecies ■■ communicated : they said the deity that appeared to them, both in beauty and majesty, resembled ■■ Olympian Jupiter.

When Sylla had passed the Assus, he encamped under ■■ Edylium, over against Archelaus, who had strongly entrenched himself between Acontium and Edylium, near a place called Assia. That spot of ground bears the name of Archelaus to this day. Sylla passed one day without attempting anything. The day following, he left Murena with ■■ legion and ■■ cohorts, to harass the enemy, who were already in some disorder, while he himself ■■ and sacrificed on the banks of the Cephissus. After the ceremony ■■ over, ■■ proceeded to Chæronæa, to join the forces there, and to take a view of Thurium, a post which the enemy had gained before him. This is ■■ craggy eminence, running up gradually to a point, which we express in ■■ language by the term *Orthopagus*. At the foot of it runs the river Morius,² and by it ■■ the temple of Apollo Thurulus. Apollo is ■■ called from Thuro the mother of Cheron, who, ■■ history informs us, ■■ the founder of Chæronæa ; others say, that the heifer which the Pythian Apollo appointed Cadmus for his guide, first presented herself there, and that the place ■■ thence ■■ Thurium ; for the Phœnicians call a heifer *Thor*.

As Sylla approached Chæronæa, the tribune who had the city ■■ charge, led out his troops to ■■ him, having himself a crown of laurel in his hands. Just ■■ Sylla received them, and began ■■ animate them ■■ intended enterprise, Homoleucis and Anaxidamus, ■■ Chæroneans, addressed him, with ■■ promise ■■ cut ■■ the corps that occupied Thurium, ■■ would ■■ them a small ■■ party ■■ support them in the attempt. For there was ■■ path which the barbarians ■■ apprized of, leading from ■■ place called Petrochus, by the temple of the Muses, ■■ a part of the mountain that overlooked them ; from whence it was easy either ■■ destroy them with ■■, or drive them down into the plain. Sylla finding ■■ character of these ■■ for ■■ and fidelity supported by Gabinus, ordered them to put ■■ thing ■■ execution. Meantime

■ This river is afterwards called *Nehes*; but which is the right reading is uncertain.

he drew up his forces, and placed the cavalry in the wings ; ■■■■ right himself, and giving ■■■■ left to Murena. Gallus¹ and Flortensius, ■■■■ lieutenants, commanded ■■■■ body of reserve in ■■■■ rear, ■■■■ pt watch upon ■■■■ heights, to prevent their being ■■■■ rounded. For it ■■■■ to ■■■■ that the enemy ■■■■ preparing ■■■■ their wings, which consisted of an infinite number of horse, and all ■■■■ light-armed foot, troops that could move with great agility, and wind away ■■■■ pleasure, to take a circuit, ■■■■ quite ■■■■ close the Roman army.

In the meantime, the ■■■■ Chæroneans, supported, according to Sylla's order, by a party commanded by Ericus, ■■■■ unobserved ■■■■ Thurium, ■■■■ gained the summit. As soon ■■■■ they made their appearance, the barbarians were struck with consternation, and sought refuge in flight ; but in the confusion many of them perished by means of each other. For, unable to find any firm footing, as they moved down the steep mountain, they fell upon the spears of ■■■■ that were ■■■■ them, ■■■■ else pushed them down the precipice. All this while the enemy ■■■■ pressing upon them from above, and galling them behind ; insomuch that 3000 men ■■■■ killed ■■■■ Thurium. As to those who got down, ■■■■ fell into the hands of Murena, who met them ■■■■ good order, and easily ■■■■ in pieces ; others who ■■■■ to the main body, under Archelaus, wherever they fell in with it, ■■■■ it with terror and dismay ; ■■■■ this ■■■■ the thing that gave the officers most trouble, and principally occasioned the defeat. Sylla, taking advantage ■■■■ their disorder, moved with such vigour and expedition to the charge, that he prevented the effect of the armed chariots. For the chief strength of those chariots consists in the course they run, and in the impetuosity consequent upon it ; and if they have but ■■■■ short compass, they are as insignificant as arrows ■■■■ from a bow not well drawn. This ■■■■ the case ■■■■ present with ■■■■ the barbarians. Their chariots moved at first so slow, and their attacks were so lifeless, that the Romans clapped their hands, and received them with ■■■■ ridicule. They ■■■■ called ■■■■ ones, ■■■■ they used ■■■■ do in the Hippodrome at Rome.

Upon this, the infantry engaged. The barbarians, for their part, tried what the long pikes would do ; and, by locking their shields together, endeavoured ■■■■ keep themselves in good order. As for ■■■■ Romans, after their spears ■■■■ had all the ■■■■ that could be expected from them, they drew ■■■■ swords, and ■■■■ of the enemy with ■■■■ strength which ■■■■ just indignation inspires. For Mithridates's generals had brought ■■■■ 15,000 slaves upon a proclamation of liberty, and placed them among the heavy-armed infantry. On which occasion, ■■■■ certain centurion ■■■■ thus ■■■■ have expressed himself—" Surely ■■■■ the Saturnalia ; ■■■■ slaves have any share of liberty ■■■■ another time." However, as their ranks were so close, and their file so deep, that they

¹ Guarin, after Appian's *Mithrid.*, reads *Gallus*, and so it is in several MSS. Dr.

also proposes to read *Ballus*, which name occurs afterwards.

could easily be broken; they exerted a spirit could not be expected from them, they were not repulsed but put in till the archers and slingers of the second line discharged all their fury upon them.

Archelaus now extending his right wing, in order to surround the Romans, and Hortensius, with his cohorts under his command, pushed down the Romans in the flank. But Archelaus, by a manoeuvre, turned against him with 2000 horse whom he had in hand, and by this little drove him towards the mountains; so that being separated from the main body, he was in danger of being quite hemmed in by the enemy. Sylla, informed of this, pushed up with his right wing, which had not yet engaged, to the assistance of Hortensius. On the other hand, Archelaus, conjecturing, from the dust that he saw about, the real state of the case, Hortensius, and hastened back to the right of the Roman army, whence Sylla had advanced, in hopes of finding it without a commander.

At the same time Taxiles was on the *Chalcas* against Mursena, so that shouts were heard up on both sides, which were echoed by the neighbouring mountains. Sylla now stopped to consider which way he should direct his course. At length, concluding to return to his own post, he sent Hortensius with four cohorts to the assistance of Mursena, and himself with the rest made up to his right wing with the utmost expedition. He found that without him it kept a good ground against the troops of Archelaus; but as he appeared, his men made such prodigious efforts, that they routed the enemy entirely, and pursued them to the river and mount Acontium.

Amidst this success, Sylla was not unmindful of Mursena's danger, but hastened to a reinforcement to that quarter. He found him, however, victorious, and therefore had nothing to do but join in the pursuit. Great numbers of the barbarians fell in the field of battle, and still greater as they were endeavouring to gain their entrenchments; so that of many myriads only 10,000 men reached Chalcis. Sylla says, he missed only fourteen of his men, and two of these were up in the evening. For this he inscribed his trophies to *Mars, to Victory, and Venus*, to show he was less indebted to good fortune, than to capacity and valour, for the advantages he had gained. The trophy I am speaking of was erected for his victory on the plain, where the troops of Archelaus began to give way, and to fly to the river Molus. The other trophy upon the top of Thurium, in memory of their getting above the barbarians, was inscribed to Greek char- valour of *Homolaiikus and Amaxidamas*.

On this occasion the Thebes, in a place erected for that purpose near the fountain of *Cedipus*.¹ But the judges were taken from other cities of Greece, by reason of the implacable hatred bore the Thebans. He deprived them of

¹ Pausanias tells us this fountain was off the blood he was stained in the so called, because *Cedipus* was called off the blood.

half their territories, which he consecrated to the Pythian Apollo and Olympian Jupiter; giving orders that the money should be repaid which they had taken from their temples.

After this, he received news that Flaccus, who was of the opposite faction, had been elected consul, and that he was bringing a great army against the Ionian, in pretence against Mithridates, but in reality against him. He therefore marched into Thessaly. However, when he was arrived at Melitea, intelligence was brought him from several quarters, that the countries behind him were being invaded by another army of the king's, superior to the former. Dorylaeus arrived at Chalcis with a large fleet, which brought 80,000 men, of the best equipped and best disciplined troops of Mithridates. With these he entered Boeotia, and made himself master of the country, with hopes of drawing Sylla to a battle. Archelaus remonstrated against that measure, but Dorylaeus was so far from regarding him, that he scrupled not to assert, that so many myriads of men could not have been lost without treachery. But Sylla turned back, and showed Dorylaeus how prudent the advice was which he had rejected, and what a proper reward its author had of the Roman valour. Indeed, Dorylaeus himself, after some slight skirmishes with Sylla at Tilphosium, was the first to agree that action was the thing to be pursued any longer, but that the time was to be spun out, and decided last by dint of money.

However, the plain of Orchomenus, where they were encamped, being most advantageous for those whose chief strength consisted in cavalry, gave fresh spirits to Archelaus. For of all the plains of Boeotia the largest and most beautiful is this, which, without either bush or hedge, extends itself from the gates of Orchomenus to the fens in which the river Melas loses itself. That river rises under the walls of the city just mentioned, and is the only Grecian river which is navigable from its source. About the summer solstice it overflows like the Nile, and produces plenty of the most fruitful nature; only the soil is meagre, and bear but little fruit. Its course is short, great part of it being stopped in those dark and muddy fens. The river flows into the river Cephissus, about the place where the plain is bordered with such excellent soil for flutes.

The two armies being encamped opposite each other, Archelaus attempted not anything. Sylla began to dig trenches in several parts of the field, that he might, if possible, drive the enemy from the firm ground which was most suitable for cavalry, and bring them upon the plain. The barbarians could not bear this, and at the signal from their generals, rode off at full speed, the labourers so rudely, that they all dispersed. The corps too, designed to support them, was put to flight. Sylla that leaped from his horse, seized one of the ensigns, and pushed through the middle of the fugitives towards the rear, crying out, *Here, Romans, of honour I am in. I am here, when you are asked where you betrayed your general,*

remember to say, ■■■ was at Orchomenus." These words stopped ■■■ flight : besides, ■■■ cohorts came from ■■■ right wing ■■■ assistance, and ■■■ the ■■■ this ■■■ corps ■■■ repulsed ■■■ enemy.

Sylla ■■■ drew ■■■ a little, to give ■■■ troops ■■■ refreshment ; ■■■ which he brought them ■■■ again, intending ■■■ draw a line ■■■ circumvallation round the barbarians. Hereupon, they returned ■■■ better order than before. Diogenes, son-in-law to Archelaus, ■■■ gloriously ■■■ he ■■■ performing wonders on the right. Their archers ■■■ charged so close by the Romans, that they had ■■■ manage their bows, and therefore took ■■■ quantity of ■■■ in their hands, which they used instead of swords, and with them killed several of their adversaries. At last, however, they were broken and shut up in their camp, where they passed ■■■ night in great misery, on account of their dead and wounded. ■■■ morning Sylla drew out his men ■■■ continue ■■■ trench ; ■■■ as numbers of the barbarians came ■■■ engage him, he attacked and routed them so effectually, that, in ■■■ they were in, none stood ■■■ guard the camp, and he entered it with them. The fens were then filled with the blood of the slain, and the lake with dead bodies ; insomuch that even now many of the weapons of the barbarians, bows, helmets, fragments of ■■■ breast-plates, and swords, ■■■ found ■■■ in the mud, though it is almost 200 years since the battle.

Meanwhile Cinna and Carbo behaved with so much rigour and injustice at Rome to persons of the greatest distinction, that many, to avoid their tyranny, retired to Sylla's camp, as to a safe harbour ; so that in a little time he had a kind of senate about him. Metella, with much difficulty, stole from Rome with his children, and came ■■■ tell him, that his enemies ■■■ burned his house and all his villas, and ■■■ him ■■■ home, where his help was so much wanted. He ■■■ much perplexed in his deliberations, neither choosing ■■■ neglect his afflicted country, ■■■ knowing how ■■■ and leave such ■■■ important object as the Mithridatic ■■■ so unfinished a state, when he was addressed by a merchant ■■■ Delium, ■■■ called Archelaus, on the part of the general of that name, who wanted ■■■ sound him about an accommodation, and ■■■ privately of ■■■ conditions of it.

Sylla ■■■ charmed with the thing, that he hastened to a personal conference with ■■■ general. Their interview ■■■ near Delium, where stands ■■■ celebrated ■■■ of Apollo. Upon their meeting, Archelaus proposed ■■■ Sylla should quit Asiatic ■■■ Pontic expedition, and turn ■■■ whole attention ■■■ civil war, engaging on the king's behalf to supply him with ■■■ vessels, and troops. Sylla proposed an answer, that Archelaus should quit the interest of Mithridates, be appointed king in his place, assume the title of an ally to the Romans, and put the king's shipping ■■■ hands. When ■■■ expressed ■■■ this treachery, Sylla thus proceeded : " Is it possible, then, you, Archelaus, ■■■ Cappadocian, ■■■ slave, or, if you please, ■■■

[] of a barbarous king, [] shocked [] a proposal, which, however [] respects exceptionable, [] attended with the [] advantageous consequences? [] it possible that to me, the Roman general, [] Sylla, you [] take upon you to talk [] treachery? As if you [] not that [] Archelaus, who at Chæronea fled with a handful of men, the [] remains of 12,000, who [] [] days in the marshes of Orchomenus, [] [] the roads of Boeotia blocked up [] heaps [] dead bodies." Upon [] Archelaus had recourse [] entreaty, [] begged [] last [] peace for Mithridates. This [] allowed [] certain conditions—Mithridates [] [] give up Asia and Paphlagonia, cede Bithynia [] Nicomedes, and Cappadocia [] Ariobarzanes. [] [] allow [] Romans 2000 talents [] defray the expense of the war, [] seventy armed galleys fully equipped. Sylla, [] the other hand, was to [] Mithridates in the [] of his dominions, [] procure him [] title of friend and ally [] the Romans.

These conditions being accepted and negotiated, Sylla returned through Thessaly and Macedonia towards the Hellespont. Archelaus, who accompanied him, was treated with the greatest respect, and when he happened to fall sick at Larissa, Sylla halted there for some time, and showed him [] the attention he could have paid to his own general officers, or even to his colleague himself. This circumstance rendered the battle of Chæronea a little suspected, as if it had been gained by unfair means; and what added to the suspicion, [] [] restoring of [] the prisoners of Mithridates, except Aristion, the avowed enemy of Archelaus, who [] taken [] by poison. But what confirmed the whole, [] the cession of 10,000 acres in Eubœa to the Cappadocian, and the title that was given him of friend and ally to the Romans. Sylla, however, in his Commentaries, obviates all these censures.

During [] stay at Larissa, he received an embassy from Mithridates, entreating him not [] insist upon [] giving up Paphlagonia, [] representing that the demand of shipping [] inadmissible. Sylla heard these [] with indignation—"What," said he, "does Mithridates pretend to keep Paphlagonia, and refuse [] the vessels I demanded? Mithridates, whom I should have expected [] [] [] knees that I would [] that right hand [] [] [] many Romans; but I am satisfied that, when I [] [] Asia, he will change his style. While he resides [] Pergamus, he can direct [] ease the war he has not seen." The ambassadors [] struck dumb with this indignant answer, [] Archelaus endeavoured to soothe and appease [] [] of Sylla, by every mitigating expression and bathing [] hand with his tears. At length he prevailed on the Roman general to send him [] Mithridates, assuring him that he would obtain [] [] [] all [] articles, [] perish in the attempt.

Sylla upon this [] [] [] him, and invaded Media, where [] committed great depredations, [] then returned [] Macedonia. [] received Archelaus at Philippi, who informed [] that [] had succeeded perfectly well in his negotiation, but that

Mithridates was extremely desirous of an interview. for it was this : Fimbria, who slew the consul Flaccus, one of the leaders of the opposite faction, and the king's generals, were marching against himself. Mithridates, alarmed at this, wanted to form a friendship with Sylla.

Their interview was at Dardanus in the country of Troas. Mithridates came with his galleys, an army of 20,000 foot, 200 horse, and a great number of armed chariots. Sylla, with no more than four cohorts and 200 horse. Mithridates came forward, and offered him his hand, but Sylla first asked him, "Whether he would stand to the conditions that Archelaus had settled with him?" The king hesitated upon it, and Sylla then said, "It is for petitioners to sue first, and for conquerors to hear in silence." Mithridates then began a long harangue, in which he endeavoured to apologise for himself, by throwing the blame partly upon his gods and partly upon the Romans. At length Sylla interrupted him—"I have often," said he, "heard that Mithridates was a good orator, but now I know it by experience, since he has been able to give a colour to such unjust and abominable deeds." Then he spoke forth in bitter terms, and in such a manner that Sylla replied to, the king's shameful conduct, and in conclusion asked him again, "Whether he would abide by the conditions settled with Archelaus?" Upon his answering in the affirmative, Sylla took him in his arms and saluted him. Then he presented to him the two kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, and reconciled them to each other.

Mithridates, having delivered up to him 70 of his ships, and 500 archers, sailed back to Pontus. Sylla perceived that his troops were much offended at the peace : they thought it an insufferable thing, that a prince who, like the kings in the universe, was the bitterest enemy to Rome ; who had caused 150,000 Romans to be murdered in Asia in one day, should go away with the wealth and spoils of Asia, which he had been plundering and oppressing for four years. But he excused himself to them by observing, that they should never have been able to carry on the war against both Fimbria and Mithridates, if they had joined their forces.

From thence he marched against Fimbria, who was encamped at Thyatira ; and having marked out his camp very near him, he began upon his entrenchment. The soldiers of Fimbria, seeing him in their vests, and saluted those of Sylla, and readily assisted them in their work. Fimbria seeing this desertion, and withal dreading Sylla as an implacable enemy, despatched himself upon the spot.

Sylla was upon Asia of 20,000 talents ; beside this, he was full of private persons who were discontented by the insolence and disorder of the soldiers he quartered upon them. For he commanded every householder to give the soldiers who lodged with him 16 drachmas a day, to provide a supper for him and his many companions, to choose to invite. A centurion was to have 50 drachmas a day, to dress and wear within doors, and another in public.

When all things settled, he set sail from Ephesus with his whole fleet, and sailed into the harbour of the Hellespont the next day. At Athens he

got initiated in the mysteries of Ceres, and from city he took with him a library of Apollon the Teian, in most of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, sufficiently known world. When they brought Rome, it is that Tyrannio grammarian, prepared many for publication, and that Andronicus the Rhodian, getting the manuscripts by his means, actually publish them, together with those indexes that in everybody's hands. The old Peripatetics appear indeed to have been men of curiosity and erudition; but they with many of Aristotle's and Theophrastus's books, those they had with correct copies; because the inheritance of Neleus the Scepsian, to whom Theophrastus his works, fell into and obscure hands.

During Sylla's stay Athens, he felt a painful numbness in his feet, which Strabo calls the lipping of the gout. This obliged him to Ædæpsus, for the benefit of the baths, where he lounged away the day with mimics and buffoons, the rain of Bacchus. One day, he was walking by the sea-side, some presented him with a curious dish of fish. Delighted with the present, he asked the people of what country they were, and when he heard they were Alæans, "What," said he, "are any the Alæans alive?" for in pursuance of his victory at Orchomenus, he had razed three cities of Boeotia, Anthedon, Larymna, and Alææ. The poor were struck dumb with fear; but he told them, with a smile, "They might away quite happy, for they had brought very respectable mediators with them." The Alæans tell us, that from that time they took courage, and re-established themselves in their old habitations.

Sylla, recovered, passed through Thessaly and Macedonia the sea, intending to over from Dyrracium to Brundisium a fleet of 1200 sail. In neighbourhood stands Apollonia, which is a remarkable spot of ground called Nymphæum.¹ The lawns and meadows of incomparable verdure, though interspersed with springs from which continually issues fire. In place, we told, a satyr taken asleep, exactly such statues and painters represent. He brought to Sylla, and interrogated in many languages who he; but he uttered nothing intelligible, accent being harsh and inarticulate, something between the neighing of a horse and the bleating of a goat. Sylla was shocked with his appearance, ordered him taken of his presence.

When he upon the point of embarking troops, began afraid, that soon as they reached Italy, they would disperse and retire their respective cities. Hereupon they him of their accord, and took an oath they would stand by the last, and willfully do any damage to Italy. And as

1 In this place the nymphs had an oracle, of the manner of consulting which Dion (l. 41) tells us several ridiculous stories. Strabo, speaking of it in his

seventh book, calls it the Nymphæum a rock, out of which issues fire, and that beneath it flows streams flaming like

they saw he would want large sums of money, they went and collected each as much as they could afford, and brought it him. He did not, however, ¹their contribution, but having thanked ²their attachment, ³encouraging them ⁴hope ⁵best, he set sail. ⁶had ⁷go, as he himself tells us, against fifteen generals of ⁸other party, who had under them ⁹less than 250 cohorts. ¹⁰Heaven gave him evident tokens of ¹¹immediately upon his landing ¹²Tarentum, and ¹³liver of the ¹⁴had ¹⁵plain impression¹ of ¹⁶of laurel, with ¹⁷gs hanging down. A ¹⁸before his passage, there were seen in the day-time upon Mount Hephæstum² ¹⁹Campania, two great he-goats engaged, which used ²⁰the ²¹that men do ²²fighting. The phenomenon raised itself by degrees from the earth ²³the air, where it dispersed itself ²⁴of shadowy phantoms, and quite disappeared.

A little after this, young Marius, and Norbanus the consul, with ²⁵powerful bodies, presumed to attack Sylla; who, without ²⁶regular disposition of his troops, or order of battle, by the mere valour and impetuosity of his soldiers, after having slain 7000 of the enemy, obliged Norbanus to seek a refuge within the walls of Capua. This success he mentions as the cause why his soldiers did ²⁷desert, but despised the enemy, though greatly superior in numbers. He tells us, moreover, that an enthusiastic ²⁸of Pontius, in ²⁹of Silvium, announced him victorious, upon the communicated authority of Bellona, but informed him, at the same time, that if he did not hasten, the Capitol would be burned. This actually happened on the day predicted, which was the sixth of July. About this time it ³⁰that Marcus Lucullus, ³¹of Sylla's officers, who had no ³²than sixteen cohorts under his command, found himself on the point of engaging an enemy who had fifty; though he ³³utmost confidence ³⁴the valour of his troops, yet, as many of them ³⁵without arms, he was doubtful about the onset. ³⁶he was deliberating about the matter, a gentle breeze bore from ³⁷neighbouring ³⁸a quantity ³⁹flowers, that ⁴⁰the shields and helmets of the soldiers ⁴¹such ⁴²manner, that they appeared to be crowned with garlands. This circumstance had such ⁴³effect upon them,³ that they charged the enemy with double vigour and courage, killed 18,000, and became complete ⁴⁴of the field, and of the camps. This Marcus Lucullus ⁴⁵brother ⁴⁶that Lucullus who afterwards conquered Mithridates and Tigranes

¹ The priests traced the figures they wanted upon the liver on their hands and by holding it very close easily made the impression upon it while it was warm and pliant

² There is no such mountain as Hephæstum known. Livy mentions the hills of ³near Capua

³ The use that the ancients made of enthusiasm and superstition, in war particularly was so

great and so frequent that it appears to take off much from the idea of their native colour and valour ⁴slightest ⁵as in the improbable ⁶referred to, of a preternatural light bearing the least shadow of a reality ⁷our army, would ⁸them to ⁹exploits, which, though a rational valour was certainly capable of effecting them without such influence, they would never have undertaken

equally with respect to his lieutenants, Pompey, Crassus, Metellus, and Servilius, who, without any mischance at all, with the loss of any consequence, defeated great and powerful armies, that Carbo, who was the chief support of the opposite party, stole out of his camp by night, and passed the Adriatic.

The conflict Sylla had, with Telesinus the Samnite, who lists like a fresh champion against him that weary, was near throwing him out of the very gates of Rome. Telesinus collected a great body of forces, with the assistance of a Lucanian, Lamponius, and was hastening to the relief of Marius, who was besieged in Praeneste. But he got intelligence that Sylla and Pompey were advancing against him by long marches, the danger of being hemmed in both front and rear, and the danger of being hemmed in both front and rear, in this case, like that of great abilities and experience of a critical kind, he decamped by night, and marched with his army directly towards Rome, which was in so ungarrisoned a condition, that he might have entered it without difficulty. He stopped when he was only ten furlongs from the Colline gate, and contented himself with passing the night before the walls, greatly encouraged and elevated by the thought of having outdone many great commanders in point of generalship.

Early in the morning the young nobility mounted their horses, and fell upon him. He defeated them, and killed a considerable number; among the rest fell Appius Claudius, a young man of spirit, and of one of the most illustrious families in Rome. The city now full of terror and confusion—the people ran about the streets, bewailing themselves, as if it was just going to be taken by assault—when Balbus, who was before by Sylla appeared advancing at great speed with 700 horse. He stopped just long enough to give his horses time to cool, and then bridled them again, and proceeded to keep the enemy in play.

The next day Sylla made his appearance; and having caused his first ranks to take a speedy refreshment, he began to put them in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus pressed him to wait some time, and to lead his army in that fatigued condition to an engagement that would prove decisive. For he had to do with Carbo and Marius, but with Samnites and Lucanians, the enemies to the Roman name. However, he ruled them motion, and ordered the trumpets to sound at the charge, though as late as the tenth hour of the day. There was a bitter battle during the whole day fought with such obstinacy on this side. The right wing, commanded by Crassus, had greatly the advantage, but the left much distressed, began to give way. Sylla made up for the assistance. He rode on white horse of great spirit and swiftness, and two of the enemy, knowing by it, levelled their spears at him. He himself perceived it not, but his groom did, and with a sudden start the horse spring forward, so that the spears only grazed his tail, and fixed themselves in the ground. It is said that in all his

battles in bosom a golden image of Apollo, which he brought Delphi. occasion particular devotion,¹ and addressed in these ; "O Pythian Apollo, conducted the fortunate Cornelius Sylla through so many engagements honour ; when thou hast brought him to the threshold of his country, thou let him there inglorious by hands of own citizens ?"

After this of devotion, Sylla endeavoured to rally his men : entreated, some he threatened, and others forced back to the charge. But at length his whole left wing was routed, and he was obliged to mix with the fugitives to regain his camp, after having lost many of his friends of the highest distinction. A good number, too, of those who came of the city the battle, were trodden under foot and perished. Nay, itself thought absolutely lost : the siege of Præneste, where taken up his quarters, being raised. For after defeat many of the fugitives repaired thither, and Lucretius Ofella, who had the direction of the siege quit it immediately, because (they said) Sylla slain, and his of Rome.

But the same evening, when it was quite dark, there persons to Sylla's , on the part of Crassus, to desire refreshment for him and his soldiers. For he had defeated the enemy, and pursued them to Antenna, where he was sat down to besiege them. Along with news Sylla was informed that the greatest part of the enemy was cut off in the action. As soon, therefore, it was day, he repaired to Antenna. There 3000 of the other faction sent deputies to him intercede for mercy ; and he promised them impunity, on condition that they would to him after some notable stroke against the rest of his enemies. Confiding in his honour, they upon another corps, and thus many of them slain by the hands of their fellow-soldiers. Sylla, however, collected these, and what of the others, to the number of 6000, into the Circus ; and at the assembled the in temple of Bellona. The moment he began his harangue, soldiers, they had been ordered, fell upon those 6000 poor wretches, and cut them in pieces. The cry of such a number of people massacred in a place of no great extent, well imagined, very dreadful. The struck with astonishment. he, with firm and unaltered continuing his discourse, bade them attend what he saying, and not trouble themselves about what doing without ; for the noise they heard, came only from some malefactors, whom he had ordered chastised."

It evident from hence to the least discerning among Romans, that they not delivered from tyranny ; they only changed their tyrant. Marius, indeed, from first sh

¹ By this it appears, that the heathens made the same use of the images of their

gods, which the Christians do of images and reliques.

and were disposition, and did produce, it only to cruelty. But Sylla, at the beginning, bore prosperity great moderation; though he seemed attached the patricians, it was thought he would protect the rights of the people; *he had loved to laugh from his youth, and had been so compassionate often melted into tears.* change in him, therefore, could but cast a blemish upon power. On account, was believed, that high honours and fortunes suffer men's manners remain in their original simplicity, but that begets in insolence, arrogance, and inhumanity. Whether power does really produce such change of disposition, whether only displays the native badness of the heart, belongs however another department of letters inquire.

Sylla turning himself to and destroy, filled the city with massacre, which had neither number nor bounds. He gave up many persons against whom he had no complaint, private revenge of his creatures. At last of the young nobility, named Calus Metellus, ventured put these questions him in the senate—"Tell us, Sylla, when shall have end our calamities? how far thou wilt proceed, and when may hope thou wilt stop? We ask thee to spare those whom thou hast marked out punishment, but we ask an exemption from anxiety for those whom thou hast determined to save." Sylla said, "He did yet know whom should save." "Then," replied Metellus, "let us know whom thou intendest to destroy," and Sylla answered, "He would do it." Some, indeed, ascribe the last reply Ausidius, one of Sylla's flatterers.

Immediately upon this, he proscribed 80 citizens, without consulting any of the magistrates in the least. And the public expressed their indignation this, the second day after he proscribed 220 more, and many on the third. Then he told the people from the *rostrum*, "He had proscribed all remembered; and such he forgot into future proscription." Death was punishment he ordained any who should harbour save a person proscribed, without excepting a brother, a son, or a parent! Such be the reward of humanity. But two talents were to be the reward of murder, whether it a slave that killed his master, a his father! The unjust circumstance, however, of seemed be, that he the and grandsons of proscribed persons infamous, and confiscated their goods.

The lists put not only at Rome, but in all Italy. Neither temple of the gods, paternal dwelling, nor hearth of hospitality, any protection against murder. He bands despatched in the bosoms of their wives, and sons those of their mothers. And sacrifices revenge were nothing those of their it a common saying ruffians, "His of such one, gardens of another, of a third." Quintus Aurelius, a quiet who thought

he could have no share in those miseries, but that which sion him, one day the forum, and out of curiosity read the of the proscribed. Finding own, however, among the rest, cried out, "Wretch that I am! my Alban villa pursues me;" and had gone far before a ruffian came killed him.

In the meantime young being taken,¹ slew himself. Sylla Præneste, where at first he tried inhabitants, executed singly. afterwards finding he for such formalities, he collected them number of 12,000, and ordered to be put to death, excepting only who had formerly entertained his house. This man with a spirit told him, "He would life the destroyer of his country;" voluntarily mixing with crowd, with his fellow-citizens! The strangest, however, of all his proceedings, that with respect to Catiline. This wretch had killed brother during the civil war, and desired Sylla put him among the proscribed, person still alive: which he difficulty of doing. Catiline in return and killed one Marcus Marius, who was of the opposite faction, brought his head to Sylla, as he sat upon his tribunal in the forum, and then washed his hands in the lustre water,² at the door of Apollo's temple, which just by.

These massacres were only thing that afflicted the Romans. He declared himself dictator, reviving that office in own favour, though there had been no instance of it for 120 years. He got a decree of amnesty for all had done; and, as to the future, it invested him with the power of life and death, of confiscating, of colonising, of building or demolishing cities, of giving or taking away kingdoms his pleasure. He exercised his power in such an insolent and despotic with regard confiscated goods, that applications of from the tribunal were intolerable than confiscations themselves. He gave to handsome prostitutes, to harpers, to buffoons, and the wicked of enfranchised slaves, the of whole cities and provinces, and compelled women of condition marry of those ruffians.

desirous of alliance with Pompey the Great, and made him divorce the wife he had, in order to his marrying Emilia, daughter of Scaurus by his own wife Metella, though he had force her from Manius Glabrio by whom she pregnant. The young lady, however, died in childbed in the house of Pompey her second husband.

Lucretius Ofelia, who had besieged Marins Præneste, aspired consularship, and prepared to sue for it. Sylla

1 He was not taken; but as he was endeavouring to make his escape by a subterraneous passage, he found it barred by Sylla's soldiers; whereupon ordered one of his slaves to kill him.

2 Here is another instance of a heathen

custom adopted by the Romans. Abstention from the use of the lustral water was considered by the Greeks a sort of excommunication. We find Cato prohibiting it to the murderers of Læus Sornon, *l'Ép. Act. 2. c. 1.*

him to proceed ; and when he saw that in confidence of his influence with the people, he appeared notwithstanding in public as a candidate, he sent one of the centurions who attended him to despatch that brave man, while he was sitting on the tribunal in the temple of Castor and Pollux, and lay down upon the murder. The people seized the centurion, and brought him with loud complaints before Sylla. Sylla commanded silence, and told him the thing was done by his order ; the centurion, therefore, was to be dismissed immediately.

About this time he led up his triumph, which was a magnificent for the display of wealth, and of the royal spoils which he had taken. A more magnificent spectacle : but that which crowned all, was the procession of his exiles. Some of the most illustrious and most powerful of the citizens followed the chariot, and called Sylla their saviour and father, because by his means it was that they returned to their country, and were restored to their wives and children. When the triumph was over, he gave an account of his great actions in a speech to the people, and was no less particular in relating the instances of his good fortune, than those of his valour. He concluded with an order that for the future he should be called Felix (that is, the fortunate.) But in writing to the Grecians, and in his answers to their applications, he took the additional name of Epaphroditus (*the favourite of Venus*.) The inscription upon the trophies left among us, is, LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA EPAPHRODITUS. And the twins he had by Metella, he gave the names of Faustus and Fausta, which in the Roman language signifies *auspicious* and *happy*.

A still stronger proof of his placing more confidence in his good fortune than in his achievements was, his laying down the dictatorship. After he had put an infinite number of people to death, broke in upon the constitution, and changed the form of government, he had the hardiness to leave the people full power to choose consuls again : while he himself, without pretending to direct the suffrages, sat about the forum, as a private man, and put in the power of any person to take the first election he had the mortification to see his enemy Marcus Lepidus, an enterprising man, declared consul, not by his interest, but by that of Pompey, who on this occasion exerted himself with the people. And when he saw Pompey going off happy in his victory, he called him to him, and said, "No doubt, young man, your politics are very excellent, since you have preferred Lepidus to Catullus, the worst and most stupid of men to the best. It is high time to awake and take upon your guard now you have strengthened your adversary against yourself." Sylla spoke thus from something like a prophetic spirit ; for Lepidus soon acted with the insolence, as Pompey's declared enemy.

Sylla gave the people a magnificent entertainment, on account of his dedicating the tenths of his substance to Hercules. The provisions were so over-abundant, that a great quantity was thrown

every day into the river ; and the wine that was drank, [] years old at least. [] the [] of this feasting, which lasted many days, Metella sickened and died. As the priests [] approach her, [] to have his house defiled with mourning, he [] her [] bill of divorce, and ordered her [] be carried [] another house while [] breath was in her body. His superstition made him very punctilious in observing these laws of the priests ; but by giving into the utmost profusion [] transgressed [] of his own, which limited the expense of funerals. He broke in upon [] sumptuary law too, [] respect to diet, by passing [] time [] the [] extravagant banquets, and having [] debauches [] combat anxiety.

A few months after he presented the people with a show of gladiators. And [] that [] men and [] had no separate places, but sat promiscuously in [] theatre, [] of [] beauty, and of [] of the best families, happened to [] Sylla. She [] the daughter of Messala, and sister to the orator H[] tensius ; her [] Valeria ; and she had lately been divorced from her husband. This woman, coming behind Sylla, touched him, and took off a little of the nap of his robe, and then returned to her seat. Sylla looked at her, quite amazed at her familiarity ; when she said, " Wonder not, my lord, at what I have done ; I had only [] mind to share a little in your good fortune." Sylla [] far from being displeased ; on the contrary it appeared that [] flattered very agreeably. For he sent to ask her name, and to inquire into her family and character. Then followed an exchange of amorous regards and smiles ; which ended in [] contract and marriage. The lady, perhaps, [] not to blame. But Sylla, though he got a woman of reputation and great accomplishments, yet [] into the match upon wrong principles. Like a youth, he [] caught with soft looks and languishing airs, things that [] to excite the lowest of the passions.

Yet, notwithstanding he had married so extraordinary a woman, he continued his [] with actresses and female musicians, and sat drinking whole days with a parcel of buffoons about him. [] chief favourites at this time were, Roscius the comedian, Sorex the mimic, and Metrobius who used to act a woman's part. These [] added strength [] a distemper, that [] but slight [] beginning ; and for a long time [] knew [] that he [] abscess within him. This abscess corrupted his flesh, and turned it all into lice ; [] that, though he had many persons employed both day and night to clean him, the part taken away was nothing [] that which remained. [] whole attire, [] baths, [] basins, [] [] with that perpet[] flux of vermin and corruption. And though he bathed many times a day, to cleanse [] purify himself, it was in vain. The corruption [] so fast, that it [] impossible [] overcome it.

We are told, that among the ancients, Acastus, the son of Pelias, died of [] sickness ; and of [] that [] nearer [] times, Achman the poet, Pherecydes the divine, Callisthenes [] Olyn-

thian kept close prison, and Mucius the lawyer. And if these may take notice of a man who did distinguish himself by anything laudable, was noted another way, it may be mentioned, that the fugitive slave Eunus, who kindled in Sicily, and afterwards taken carried there of this disease.

Sylla only foresaw his death, but has left something relating to it in his writings. He finished the twenty-second book of his Commentaries only two days before he : and he tells that the Chaldeans had predicted, that after a life of glory he would depart in the height of his prosperity. He farther acquaints us, his son, who died a little before Metella, appeared him in a dream, in a garment, and desired him bid adieu to his cares, and go along with him to his mother Metella, with whom he should live at ease, and enjoy the charms of tranquillity. not, however, withdraw his attention from public affairs. It was but ten days before his death that he reconciled contending parties at Puteoli,¹ and gave them a set of laws for the regulation of their police. And the very day before he died, upon information that the quæstor Granius would not pay what he was indebted to the state, he waited for his death to avoid paying it all, he sent for him into his apartment, planted his servants about him, and ordered them strangle him. The violence with which he spoke, strained him so much, that the imposthume broke, he voided a vast quantity of blood. strength fast, and, after he had passed the night in great agonies, he expired. He left two young children by Metella: and Valeria, after his death, was delivered of a daughter called *Posthumia*; a name given of course by the Romans such as born after the death of their father.

Many of Sylla's enemies now combined with Lepidus, to prevent his having usual honours of burial; but Pompey, though he somewhat displeased at Sylla, because, of all his friends, he had left only out of his will, in this interposed authority; and prevailed upon by his interest and entreaties, and others by menaces, to drop their opposition. Then he conveyed the body Rome, and conducted whole funeral, only with security, but with honour. Such the quantity spices brought in by the women, that exclusive of those carried in two hundred and ten great baskets, a figure of Sylla length, and of a *lictor* besides, made entirely of and the choicest frankincense. The day happened cloudy, and rain so much expected, that it about the ninth hour² before corpse was carried out. However, it no sooner laid pile, than a brisk wind blew, and raised so strong flame, that it consumed immediately. But after the pile was burned down, and began to out, a great rain which

¹ In *Nisacris*, which is another name for Puteoli.

² Three in the afternoon.

lasted night. So that his good fortune continued to last, and assisted at his funeral. stands in the *Campus Martius*, and they tell us he wrote an epitaph for himself this purport: "No friend me much good, enemy harm, but I repaid him with interest."

SERTORIUS.

It is at astonishing that Fortune, in the variety of her motions through of numberless ages, happens often to hit upon point, and to produce events perfectly similar. For, if the number of be infinite, Fortune may easily furnish herself with parallels in such abundance of matter; if their number limited, there necessarily be a return of the occurrences, when the whole is run through.

Some there are who take a pleasure in collecting those accidents and adventures they have met with in history conversation which have such characteristic likeness, to appear the effects of reason and foresight. For example, there eminent persons of the name of Attis,¹ the one a Syrian, the other Arcadian, who both killed by a boar. There were two Acteons, one of which in pieces by his dogs, and the other by his lovers.² Of the Scipios, one conquered Carthage, and the other demolished it. Troy was taken three times; the first time by Hercules, on account of Laomedon's horses; the second time by Agamemnon, through means of the wooden horse; ³ the third by Charidemus, a horse happening to stand in the way, and hindering the Trojans from shutting the gates so quickly they should have done. There cities that bear of odoriferous plants, *Ios*⁴ and *Smyrna*, *Violet* and *Myrrh*, and Homer said have been born in the one, and to have in the other. To these instances we may add, that some of the generals who have been the greatest warriors, and have exerted their capacity for stratagem in the successful manner, have had but one eye; I mean Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal, and Sertorius, whose life going to write. A man whose

¹ Pausanias, in his *Aphaias*, mentions one or Attos, the son of Calais the Thrygian, worship of the mother of the gods Lydians. He was himself under a natural incapacity children, and therefore he might possibly be the first who proposed that all the priests of that goddess should be eunuchs. Pausanias adds, that Jupiter, displeased at his being so great a favourite with her, sent a boar, which ravaged the fields and slew Attis, as well as many of the Lydians. We know nothing of any other Attis.

² Acteon the son of Aristonius, was torn in pieces by his own dogs, and Acteon the son of by Bacchidae. the Scholiast Apollonius, Book

³ These are all instances of being under the influence of an infant being. Nay they are such puerilities as himself scarce ever gave into.

⁴ Some suppose Ios to have been an island rather than a town. But if it was an island, there might be a town in it of the same name, which was often the case in the Greek islands.

duct, with respect to women, was preferable to Philip, who was faithful to his friends than Antigonus, and humane to his enemies than Hannibal; but, though he was inferior to none of them in capacity, he fell short of them in success. Fortune, indeed, was more cruel to him than his enemies; and avowed enemies; yet he showed himself a match for Metellus in experience, Pompey in daring, for Sylla in his victories, nay, for the Roman people in power; and all his exile and sojourner among barbarians.

Grecian general who, I think, most resembles him, is Lumenes of Cardia.¹ Both of them excelled in point of generalship, in all sorts of stratagem, as well as courage. They banished their own countries, commanded armies in others. And they contend with Fortune, who persecuted them so violently, that at last they were assassinated through the treachery of those very persons whom they had often led to victory.

Quintus Sertorius was of a respectable family in the city of Nursia, and country of the Sabines. Having lost his father when a child, he had a liberal education given him by his mother, whom that account he always loved with the greatest tenderness. Her name was Rhea. He was sufficiently qualified to speak in a court of justice, and by his abilities that way gained some interest, when but a youth, in Rome itself. But his greater talents for the camp, and his success as a soldier, turned his ambition into that channel.

He made his first appearance under Cæpio,² when the Cimbri and Teutones broke into Gaul. The Romans fought a battle, in which their behaviour was but indifferent, and they were put to the rout. On this occasion Sertorius lost his horse, and received many wounds himself, yet he swam the river Rhone, armed as he was with his breast-plate and shield, in spite of the violence of the torrent. Such was his strength of body, and so much he improved that strength by exercise.

The same enemy appeared a second time, with such prodigious numbers, and such dreadful menaces, that it was difficult to prevail with a Roman to keep his post, or to obey his general. Marius then took command, and Sertorius offered his services to go as a spy, and bring him an account of the enemy. For this purpose he took a Gaulish habit, and having learned so much of the language as might suffice for his address, he mingled with the barbarians. When he had seen and heard enough to inform him of the way they were taking, he returned to Marius, who honoured him with the established rewards of valour, and, during that whole war, by such proofs of his courage and capacity, he raised him to distinction, and perfectly gained him the confidence of the general.

After his return with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was

¹ In the Thracian Cheronesos.
² In the MSS. text it is Scipio, but MSS. give us Cæpio. And it certainly was Cæpio, who, with the

consul On. Mallius was defeated by Cimbri, in the fourth year, Olympiad 198.

legionary tribune, under Didius, into Spain, and took up his winter quarters [] Castulo,¹ [] city of [] Celtiberians. The soldiers, living in great plenty, behaved [] an insolent and disorderly manner, and commonly [] to intoxication. The barbarians, seeing this, [] [] contempt; and one night having got assistance from their neighbours [] Gyriscenians,² they entered the houses where they [] quartered, and put them to the sword. Sertorius, with a [] [] having found [] to escape, sallied [] and collected all [] [] had got out of the hands of the barbarians. Then he [] round [] town and finding the gate open [] which the Gyriscenians [] been privately admitted, he entered; but took [] [] to commit the [] error they had done. He placed [] guard there, made himself master of all the quarters of [] town, and slew all [] inhabitants who were able to bear []. After this execution, he ordered his soldiers to lay aside their [] arms and clothes, and take those of the barbarians, and [] follow him in that form [] the city of the Gyriscenians. The people, deceived by the suits of armour and habits they [] acquainted with, opened their gates, and sallied forth, in expectation of meeting their friends and fellow-citizens in all the joy of success. The consequence of which was, that the greatest part of them [] cut in pieces [] the gates: the [] surrendered, and [] sold as slaves.

By this manœuvre, the name of Sertorius became famous in Spain; and upon his return [] Rome, he [] appointed questor in [] Cisalpine Gaul. That appointment was [] very seasonable one, for the Marian war [] breaking out, and Sertorius being [] ployed [] levy troops and to provide arms, he proceeded in that commission with such expedition and activity, that, while effeminacy and supineness [] spreading among the rest of the Roman youth, he was considered [] a [] of spirit and enterprise.

Nor did his martial intrepidity abate, when [] arrived [] the degree [] general. His personal exploits [] [] great, and he faced danger [] the [] fearless []; in consequence of which he had one of his eyes struck out. This, however, he always gloried in. He said others [] not always carry about with them the honourable badges of their valour, but sometimes laid aside their chains, their truncheons, and coronets; while he had perpetually [] evidences of his bravery about him, and those who [] his misfortune, [] [] time beheld his []. *The people, too, treated [] [] highest respect. When he entered the theatre, they received [] with the loudest plaudits and acclamations; [] honour which officers distinguished [] their [] and achievements [] easily obtain.*

Yet when he stood for the office of tribune of the people, [] lost it through the opposition of Sylla's faction; which [] the chief cause of [] perpetual enmity against Sylla. When Marius []

1 A town of New Castile, on the coast
between Andalusia.

2 The Gyriscenians were a people
whom we know nothing of, it has been

conjectured that we should read *Orisians*.
The *Orisians* were of that district. []

greatest excesses, killing their masters, abusing their mistresses, violating their children; he concluded, these outrages insupportable, shot them with in their camp, less than 4000 in number.

After the death of Marius, assassination of Cinna followed it, the appointment of young the consulship, contrary the of Sertorius and the laws of Rome, Carbo, Scipio, and Norbanus carried on the against Sylla, returned Italy, but without any success. For sometimes in a mean and dastardly manner, and sometimes troops deserted in large bodies. In this Sertorius began to think his presence of importance, he their under miserable direction, and that persons of the least understanding power. the more confirmed his opinion, when Sylla, encamped near Scipio, and, amusing him with caresses, under pretence of an approaching peace, the while corrupting his troops. Sertorius advertised Scipio of it several times, and told him what the would be, but he listened him.

Then giving up Rome for lost, he retired with the utmost expedition into Spain; hoping, if he could get the government there into his hands, to be able to afford protection to such of his friends might be beaten Italy. He met with dreadful storms on his way, when he to the mountains adjoining to Spain, the barbarians insisted that he pay toll, and purchase passage over them. Those who attended him fired with indignation, and thought it an insufferable thing for a Roman consul to pay toll such a crew of barbarians. But he made light of the seeming disgrace, and said, "*Time the thing he purchased, than which nothing in the world could be more precious to a engaged in great attempts.*" He therefore satisfied the of mountaineers, passed into Spain without losing a moment.

He found the country very populous, and abounding in youth for war, but at the time the people, oppressed by the avarice and rapacity of former governors, disposed towards any Roman Government whatever. To this aversion, he tried gain the better by his and obliging manner, and populace by lowering the taxes. But his excusing them from providing quarters for the soldiers the agreeable. For he ordered pass the winter in without the walls, them the example. He not, however, place whole dependence upon the attachment of the barbarians. Whatever Romans had settled there, and bear arms, incorporated with troops: provided such a variety of warlike machines, and built such a number of ships, as kept the cities and though address was and gentle made formidable by preparations for war.

As soon as he was informed that Sylla had made himself master of Rome, that the faction of Marius and Carbo was entirely suppressed, he concluded that an army would be sent against

him under the conduct of an able general. For this he Julius Salinator, with 6000 foot, to block up the Pyrenees. In a little Catus Annus arrived the part of Sylla; seeing it impossible to dislodge Salinator, down at the foot of the mountain, not knowing how to proceed. While he in this perplexity, one Calpurnius, surnamed Lenarius, assassinated Salinator, and his troops thereupon quitting Pyrenees, Annus passed them, easily repulsing with his great army the few that opposed. Sertorius not in a condition to fight him battle, retired with 3000 men to New Carthage; he embarked, and crossed to Africa. The Maurusian was the land he touched upon, and his men going upon shore there water, and being their guard, barbarians fell upon them, and killed a considerable number; that was to make for Spain. He found the guarded, and it was practicable to make descent there; but having with some of Cilician pirates, he persuaded them to join him, and made landing good in the isle of Pitiusa (*Ivica*), forcing his way through the guards which Annus had placed there.

Soon after Annus made his appearance with a numerous fleet, a board of which 5000 men. Sertorius ventured to engage him, though his vessels were small, and made rather for swift sailing than strength. But a violent west-wind springing up, raised such a storm, that the greatest part of Sertorius's ships, being too light to bear up against it, were driven upon the rocky shore. Sertorius himself was prevented by the storm from making his way at sea, and by the enemy from landing; so that he was tossed about by the waves for ten days together, and at last escaped with great difficulty.

At length the wind abated, and he ran in among some scattered islands in that quarter. There he landed; but finding they were without water, he put to sea again, crossed the Straits of Gades, and keeping the right, landed a little above the mouth of the Bætis, which running through a large track to discharge itself in the Atlantic Ocean, gives name to all that part of Spain through which it passes (*Andalusia*). There he found the mariners lately arrived from the Atlantic Islands (the Canaries). These two numbers, separated only by a narrow channel, and are at the distance of 400 leagues¹ from the African coast. They are called the *Fortunate Islands*. Rain seldom falls there, and when it does, it falls moderately, but they generally have soft breezes, which such rich dews, that the soil is only good for sowing and planting, but it produces the excellent fruits, and there is such abundance, that the inhabitants have nothing to do than to indulge themselves in the enjoyment of ease. The climate is always pleasant and salubrious, through the happy temperature of the seasons, and each other. For the winds which blow from

¹ In the original ten thousand furlongs

our continent, in the immense [] they have [] pass, [] dissipated [] lost: while the sea winds, [] is, the S. and [] W. bring with them from [] ocean slight and gentle showers, but oftener only [] refreshing moisture, which imperceptibly [] plenty [] plains. [] it is generally believed, even [] barbarians, [] these are the Elysian Fields, [] seats of the blessed, which Homer [] described [] charms [] verse, *Odyss. iv.*

Sertorius hearing these wonders, conceived a strong desire [] himself in [] islands, where [] might live in perfect tranquillity, at [] distance from the [] of tyranny and [] The Cilicians, [] wanted neither peace [] repose, but riches and spoils, no [] perceived this, than they bore away for Africa, [] restore Ascalis [] of Iphtha to the throne [] Mauritania. Sertorius, [] from giving himself up to despair, resolved to [] assist [] people who [] war with Ascalis, in order [] open [] his [] another prospect in [] new employment, and [] prevent their relinquishing him for want of support. His arrival [] very acceptable [] the Moors, and he [] beat Ascalis in [] pitched battle; after which he besieged him in the place to which he retired.

Hereupon, Sylla interposed, and sent Paccianus with a considerable force to the assistance of Ascalis. Sertorius meeting him in [] field, defeated and killed him; and having incorporated his troops with his own, assaulted and took the city of Tingis,¹ whither Ascalis and his brothers had fled for refuge. The Africans tell us the body of Antæus lies there; and Sertorius, not giving credit [] what the barbarians related of his gigantic size, opened his tomb for satisfaction. But how great was his surprise, when (according to the account [] have of it) he beheld [] body sixty cubits long. [] immediately offered sacrifices, and closed up the tomb; which added greatly to the respect and reputation it had before.

The people of Tingis relate, that after the death of Antæus, Hercules took his widow Tinga [] his bed, and had by her [] named Sophax, who reigned over that country, and founded [] city to which he gave [] mother's name. They add, that Diodorus, the [] of Sophax, subdued [] African nations with [] army of Greeks, which [] raised out of the colonies of Olbians and Mycencæans settled here by Hercules. These particulars [] tion for [] sake of Juba, [] best of all royal historians; for [] is said to have been [] descendant of Sophax and Diodorus, [] and grandson of Hercules.

Sertorius having thus cleared the field, did no [] harm to [] [] surrendered themselves or placed [] confidence [] him. [] restored them their possessions and cities, and put the government [] their hands again; taking nothing [] himself [] what they voluntarily offered him.

1 [] the text *Tingis*. Ptolemy tells us, the [] is Tingis, that Antæus

gives it the name of *L'neu*, and Eusebius that of *L'neu*.

As ■ ■ ■ deliberating which way he should ■ ■ ■ turn his arms, the Lusitanians ■ ■ ■ ambassadors to invite him ■ ■ ■ the command among them. For they wanted ■ general of his reputation and experience, ■ ■ ■ them against the ■ ■ ■ of the Roman eagles ; and ■ ■ ■ only one on whose character and firmness they could properly depend. Indeed, he is said ■ have ■ ■ ■ proof against the impressions both of pleasure and fear ; intrepid in time ■ danger, and not too much elated ■ ■ ■ prosperous fortune ; ■ any great and sudden attempt ■ daring ■ any general of ■ time, ■ ■ ■ where ■ ■ ■ and contrivance, ■ well ■ despatch, ■ necessary ■ seizing a pass ■ securing ■ stronghold, ■ ■ the greatest ■ ■ ■ of stratagem in the world ; noble and generous in rewarding great actions and in punishing offences very moderate.

It is true his ■ ■ ■ of ■ Spanish hostages in the latter part of his life, which bore such strong marks of cruelty and revenge, ■ ■ ■ argue that the clemency he showed before, ■ ■ ■ not a real virtue in him, but only ■ pretended one, taken up ■ ■ ■ suit ■ ■ ■ occasions. I ■ ■ ■ indeed, that *the virtue which is sincere, and founded upon reason, can never be so conquered by any stroke whatever, ■ to give place to the opposite.* Yet dispositions naturally humane and good, by great and undeserved calamities may possibly ■ soured a little, and the man may change with his fortune. This, I ■ ■ ■ persuaded, ■ ■ ■ the case of Sertorius ; when fortune forsook him, his disposition was sharpened by disappointment, and he became severe to those who injured ■ ■ ■ betrayed him.

At present having accepted ■ ■ ■ invitation to Lusitania, he took his voyage ■ ■ ■ from Africa thither. Upon his arrival he was invested with full authority ■ general, and levied forces, with which he reduced the neighbouring provinces. Numbers voluntarily came ■ ■ ■ to him, on ■ ■ ■ account of his reputation for clemency as well ■ the vigour of his proceedings. And to these advantages he added artifice to ■ ■ ■ and gain the people.

That of the hind ■ ■ ■ of the least.¹ Spanus, a countryman who ■ ■ ■ in those parts happening to ■ ■ ■ in with a hind which had newly yeaned, and which ■ ■ ■ flying from the hunters, ■ ■ ■ in his attempt ■ take her ; but charmed with the ■ ■ ■ colour ■ the fawn, which was a perfect white, he pursued and took it. By good fortune Sertorius had his camp in the ■ ■ ■ neighbourhood ; and whatever was brought to him taken in hunting, ■ ■ ■ of the productions of ■ ■ ■ field, ■ ■ ■ received with pleasure, and returned ■ ■ ■ civility with interest. The countryman went and offered him the fawn. He received this present like the rest, and ■ ■ ■ took ■ ■ ■ ordinary notice of it. But in time it became ■ tractable and ■ ■ ■ him, that it would come when ■ ■ ■ called, follow ■ ■ ■ wherever ■ ■ ■ went, and learned ■ ■ ■ bear the hurry and tumult of the camp. By little and ■ ■ ■ brought the people to believe there ■ ■ ■ something sacred and mysterious in the affair : giving it ■ ■ ■ that ■ ■ ■ fawn ■ ■ ■ gift from Diana, ■ ■ ■ that it ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ many important

¹ Sertorius had learned these arts of Marcius.

For he knew the natural power of superstition over minds of the barbarians. In pursuance of his scheme, when enemy making a private irruption into the country under his command, or persuading city revolt, he pretended the fawn appeared to him a dream, and warned him to have forces ready. And if he had intelligence of some victory gained by officers, he used conceal the messenger, and produce the fawn crowned with flowers for its good tidings; bidding the people rejoice and sacrifice the gods, account of news they would hear.

By this invention he made them tractable that they obeyed his orders in everything without hesitation, longer considering themselves as under the conduct of a stranger, but the immediate direction of Heaven. And the astonishing increase of his power, far beyond they could rationally expect, confirmed them in that persuasion. For, with 2,600 men, whom he called Romans (though among them there 700 Africans who with him), and addition of 4,000 light-armed Lusitanians and 700 horse, he carried on the against four Roman generals, who had 120,000 foot, 6,000 horse, 2,000 archers and slingers, and cities without number under their command; though first he had twenty cities only. Nevertheless, with so trifling a force, and such small beginnings, he subdued several great nations, and took many cities. Of the generals who opposed him, he beat Cotta sea in the straits over against Mellaria; he defeated Phidius who had the chief command Battica, and 4000 Romans upon the banks of the Bætis. By his quæstor he beat Domitius and Lucius Manlius, proconsul of the other Spain: he likewise slew Thorunian, one of the officers sent against him by Metellus, together with his whole army. Nay, Metellus himself, a general of great reputation as any the Romans then had, entangled by him in such difficulties, and reduced to such extremities, he forced to call in Lucius Lollius from Gallia Narbonensis to his assistance, and Pompey the Great with another army from Rome with the utmost expedition. For Metellus knew what take against daring enemy, who was continually harassing him, and yet would not to a pitched battle, and who, by the lightness and activity of Spanish troops, turned into all manner of forms. sufficiently skilled, indeed, in set battles, and commanded a heavy-armed infantry, which knew how repulse and bear down anything would make head against them, but had no experience mountains, or capacity vie in flying and pursuing as swift wind. Nor could his troops bear hunger, eat anything undressed, or lie upon ground without tents, like those of Sertorius. Metellus advanced in years, after

1 X; Lander has it *Dileus*, which is agreeable to some MSS.; *Crucesius*, upon conjecture only. 14, *Augustus*. Pyrenæum, in his Supplement to Livy

(m. 28) calls this general *Puridius*; and he might do so in the authority of some ancient means ripe of Plutarch.

* Florus has it

campaigns and long service, had begun to indulge in a delicate way of living; whereas Sertorius, in the use of wine, of spirits, and in the bringing strength and activity to the great perfection by abstinence and abstemiousness. He indulged in wine, when he did nothing else to do; and he accustomed himself to bear heat and fatigue, to make long marches, and pass many successive nights without sleep, though supported the while with mean and slender diet. By bestowing his leisure on hunting and traversing all the country for game, he had gained such a knowledge of the impracticable as well as open parts of it, that when he wanted to fly, he found no difficulty in it; and if he had occasion to pursue or surround his enemy, he could do so with ease.

That Metellus, in being prevented from coming to any regular action, suffered all the disadvantages of a defeat, Sertorius gained as much by flying as he could have done by conquering and pursuing. For he cut his adversary off from water, prevented his foraging. If the Romans began to march, he was on their wing to harass them, and if they sat still, he galled them in such a manner, that they were forced to quit their post. If they invested a town, he was soon upon them, and by cutting off their convoys, it was besieged the besiegers inasmuch that they began to give up the point, and to call upon Metellus to accept the challenge that Sertorius had given, insisting that general should fight with general, and Roman with Roman; and when he declined it, they ridiculed and abused him. Metellus only laughed at them, and he did perfectly right, for, as Theophrastus says, *"A general should die like a general, and not like a common soldier."*

He found that the Langobards were very serviceable to Sertorius, and perceived, at the same time, that he might soon bring them to surrender for want of water; for they had but one well in the city, and he might immediately make himself master of the well in the suburbs, and under the walls. He therefore advanced against the town, but concluding he should not take it within five days, ordered his troops to take only five days' provisions with them. Sertorius gave the people speedy notice of this, 2,000 skins, and gave them with water, promising a good reward for the capture of each vessel or skin. A number of Spaniards and Moors, on this occasion, and having selected the strongest and swiftest of them, he sent them along the coast with orders, that they delivered these vessels, to all persons of the town, that the water might be fully sufficient for them during the whole of the siege.

Metellus, informed of this manoeuvre, he was greatly concerned at it; and his provisions began to fail, he sent Aquilius with 6,000 men to collect fresh supplies. Sertorius, who had early intelligence of it, laid an ambush for Aquilius, and upon his return, 3,000 men, who were placed in the shady channel of the river for the purpose, rose up and attacked him in the rear. At

the time Sertorius himself charged him in front, a considerable number of his party, and took the rest prisoners. Aquilius back Metellus, but with the loss both of his horse; whereupon Metellus retired with disgrace, greatly and ridiculed by the Spaniards.

This procured Sertorius the admiration and of the Spaniards; but what charmed them still more that he armed them in the Roman manner, taught them keep their ranks, and obey the word of command; so that, instead of exerting their strength in a savage and disorderly manner, and behaving a multitude of handitti, he polished them into regular forces. Another agreeable circumstance was, that he furnished them with abundance of gold and silver to gild their helmets, and enrich their shields; and that he taught them to wear embroidered vests, magnificent coats; nor did he give them supplies only for these purposes, but he set them the example.¹ The finishing stroke collecting from the various nations, the children of nobility into the great city of Osca,² and his furnishing them with masters instruct them in the Grecian and Roman literature. This had the appearance only of an education, to prepare them to be admitted citizens of Rome, and fit them for important commissions; but, in fact, the children were so many hostages. Meanwhile the parents were delighted to see their sons in gowns bordered with purple, and walking in great state to the schools, without any expense to them. For Sertorius took the whole upon himself, often examining besides into the improvements they made, and distributing proper rewards those of most merit, among which the golden furling down from the neck, called by the Romans *bulla*.

It then the custom in Spain, for the band which fought general's person, when he die with him. This manner of devoting themselves to death the barbarians call a *Libation*.³ The other generals had but a few of these guards knights companions; whereas Sertorius attended by many myriads, who had laid themselves under that obligation. It is said, that when once defeated near the walls of a town, and the enemy were pressing hard upon him, Spaniards, Sertorius, posed themselves without any precaution. They passed him their shoulders, from to another, he had gained the walls, and when their general secure, then they dispersed, and fled for their lives.

Nor he beloved by the Spanish soldiers only, but by which from Italy too. When Perpenna Vento, who of same party with Sertorius, into Spain with a great quantity money, and a respectable army, intending to proceed

¹ Alexander had taught the same method, before him, among the Persians. For he ordered 30,000 Persian boys to be taught Greek, and trained in the Macedonian

² A city in Hispania Tarraconensis.

³ In Gael, the persons who laid themselves under this obligation were called *Soldiers*. Cam. de Bell. Gall. l. iii.

in operations against M. upon his bottom; the troops disliked the scheme, and nothing was to be done at the camp but S. This gave great uneasiness to Perpenna, who much elated with his high and opulent fortune. Nor did the stop here. Upon their having intelligence Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, the soldiers took up their standards, and loudly called upon Perpenna to leave them Sertorius; threatening, if he would not comply, to leave him, and to a general who knew how to save both and those under his command. So that Perpenna was forced to yield, and joined Sertorius with 53 cohorts.¹

Sertorius found himself at the head of a great army; for, besides the junction of Perpenna, all countries within the Iberus had adopted his interest, and troops daily flocking in on all sides. But it gave him pain to see them behave with disorder and ferocity of barbarians; find them calling upon to give the signal charge, and impatient of the least delay. He tried what mild representations would do, and they no effect. They still continued obstinate and clamorous, often engaging in combat in a very unseasonable manner. At last he permitted them to engage in their own way, the consequence of which they would suffer great loss, though he designed to prevent their being entirely defeated. These checks, he hoped, would make them more willing to be under discipline.

The event answered his expectation. They fought and beaten; but making up with succours, he rallied the fugitives, conducted them safe into the camp. His next step was to rouse them up out of their despondence. For which purpose, a few days after, he assembled all his forces, and produced two horses before them; the one old and feeble, the other large and strong, and remarkable besides for a fine flowing tail. By the poor weak horse stood a robust able-bodied man, and by the strong horse stood a little man of a very contemptible appearance. Upon a signal given the strong began to pull and drag about the weak horse by the tail, as he would pull it off; and the little man pluck off the hairs of the great horse's tail, by the strong. The former tugged and toiled a long time the great diversion of the spectators, last forced to give up the point; the latter, without any difficulty, soon stripped the great horse's tail of all hair.² Then Sertorius rose up and said, "You see, my friends and fellow-soldiers, how much greater the effects of perseverance, those of force, and there are many things invincible in their collective capacity and in a state of union, which may gradually be overcome when they are once separated. In short, perseverance is irresistible. By means, time attacks and destroys all things upon earth. Time, I say, who properly, and watch opportunities it presents, the to those

¹ A cohort is the tenth part of a legion.

² Horace alludes to this. l. 1. ep. 1.

who will rushing [] it does [] call them." By such symbols as these, Sertorius applied [] of [] barbarians, and instructed [] to [] for proper junctures and []

[] contrivance with respect to the Characitan: gained him [] much admiration as any of his military performances whatever. The Characitan: [] seated beyond the river Tagus. They have neither [] nor villages, but dwell upon a large and lofty hill, [] dens [] of the rocks, the mouths of which are all [] the north. The [] of all the country about it is [] clay, so very light [] crumbly, that it yields to the pressure of [] foot, is reduced to powder by the least touch, [] about like ashes [] unslaked lime. The barbarians, whenever they [] apprehensive [] an attack, [] these caves with their booty, [] upon themselves as [] place perfectly impregnable.

It happened [] Sertorius, returning to [] distance from Metellus, encamped under this hill. and the savage inhabitants [] retised only because he [] beaten, offered him several insults. Sertorius, either provoked [] such [] or willing [] show them he was not flying from any enemy, mounted his horse the next day, and went to reconnoitre the place. As he could see no part [] which it was accessible, he almost despaired of taking it, and could only vent his anger in vain menaces. At last he observed, that the wind blew [] dust in great quantities toward the mouths of the caves, which are all to the north. The north [] wind, which some call *Caciat*,¹ prevails most in those parts, taking its rise from the marshy grounds, and the [] covered [] with snow. And [] it [] the height of summer, it [] remarkably strong, having fresh supplies from the melting of the ice on the northern peaks; [] that [] blew [] most agreeable gale, which in the day-time refreshed both these savages and their flocks.

Sertorius reflecting upon what he saw, and being informed by the neighbouring Spaniards that these [] the usual appearance [] ordered his soldiers [] collect vast quantities of that dry and crumbly earth, [] [] a mount of [] against the hill. The barbarians, imagining he intended [] their strongholds from that mount, laughed [] his proceedings. The soldiers [] on with their work all night, and then he [] them back [] camp. Next [] g, at break of day, a gentle breeze sprang up,² which moved the lightest part of the heap, and dispersed it like [], and as the sun got up higher the *Caciat* blew [] and by [] violence covered [] the hill with dust. Meantime the [] stirred up the heap from the very bottom, and crumbled all the clay; and some galloped [] and down to raise the light earth, and thicken [] clouds [] dust [] the wind; which carried them [] dwellings [] the Characitan: [] directly facing it. [] they were caves, and, of course, [] no other aperture, []

¹ *N-dia inferi Aquilonem et Equinoctialem* Plin. l. i. c.

² *Narrant et in Feno Ciconia in* ap. t22^o ante anab.

Sertorius who pleased spare inhabitants, and them free; but he did their city ashes. This out anger, or spirit of cruelty (for he have indulged his less than any other general whatever), but put the admirers of Pompey to the blush; while it said among the barbarians, though he at hand, and almost warned him the flame, he suffered to perish.

It is true, Sertorius received many checks in the of the war; but it where he acted in person; for he continued invincible; it was through his lieutenants. And such his manner of rectifying the mistakes, that he with applause than adversaries in the midst of their In- of which have in the of Sucro with Pompey, and in that of Tuttilia¹ with Pompey and Metellus.

As the battle of Sucro, we are told it fought the sooner, because Pompey hastened it, prevent Metellus from having a in the victory. This the very thing Sertorius wanted, try strength with Pompey, before Metellus joined him. Sertorius up and engaged him in the evening. This he did out of choice, in the persuasion that the enemy, not being acquainted with the country, would find darkness hindrance to them, whether they should have occasion to fly or to pursue. When they charge, that he had to do with Pompey, he could have wished, but that Afranius commanded enemy's left wing opposite to him who was the head of his own right wing. However, as soon as he understood that his gave way to the vigorous impressions of Pompey, he put his right under the direction of other officers and hastened to support that which had the disadvantage. Rallying the fugitives and encouraging those who kept their ground, he forced Pompey to fly in great confusion, who he pursuing: nay, that general was in the greatest danger; he wounded, and got off with difficulty. For the Africans, who fought under banners of Sertorius, having taken Pompey's horse, adorned with gold and other rich furniture, left the pursuit, quarrel about dividing the spoil. In the meantime, when Sertorius down his right wing to the other in distress, Afranius overthrew before him, and closely pursuing fugitives, entered their camp with them, which he pillaged it dark; knew nothing of Pompey's defeat, keep soldiers from plundering, if he had desired it. At this instant Sertorius with the laurels he had won, troops of Afranius, which were scattered up and down p, destroys great numbers of them. Next morning armed, and took the field again; but perceiving that hand, drew off and decamped. He did it, however, with air of gaiety: "If the old woman," said he, "had been here, I would have flogged the boy well, and sent him back Rome."

¹ Orovius conjectures, read *Tuttilia*, *Tuttilia* being a river which falls into the *Sucro*.

notwithstanding, much afflicted for the hind. For the excellent in the management the barbarians, who now wanted encouragement than ever. By good fortune some of his soldiers, they strolling night about the country, with her, and knowing her by colour, brought her him. Sertorius, happy to again, promised large sums, condition they would carefully concealed the hind, and days after, appeared public with a cheerful countenance business, telling barbarian officers that he had some extraordinary happiness announced him from heaven a dream. Then he mounted the tribunal, for the despatch of such affairs might come before him. At that the hind being loose place by those who the charge of her, seeing Sertorius, ran up great joy, leaped upon the tribunal, her upon his lap, and licked his right hand, in a manner which she had long been trained. Sertorius returned her caresses with all the tokens of affection, even to the shedding of tears. The assembly first looked on with silent astonishment afterwards they testified their regard for Sertorius with the loudest plaudits and acclamations, as a person of superior nature beloved by gods. With these impressions they conducted him his pavilion, and resumed all the hopes spirits with which he could have wished inspire them.

watched the enemy so close in the plains of Saguntum, that they were great want of provisions, and as they determined last to out to forage and collect necessaries, this unavoidably brought on a battle. Great acts of valour were performed both sides. Memmius, best officer Pompey had, fell in the hottest of the fight. Sertorius carried all before him, and through heaps of the slain made his way towards Metellus, who made great efforts oppose him, and fought with a vigour above his years, but at last borne down with the stroke of a spear. All the Romans, who saw or heard of his disaster, resolved abandon their general, and from impulse of shame as well as anger, they turned upon the enemy, and sheltered Metellus their shields, till others carried him off safety. Then they charged the Spaniards with great fury, and them in their turn.

As victory had changed sides, Sertorius, for his troops, well as convenient raising forces the into a city strongly situated upon the repaired the walls, and barricaded gates, though thought of nothing than standing. The however, deceived by appearances. They invested place, and, imagination that they make themselves of without difficulty, took care prevent fugitive barbarians, or prevent levies which officers of Sertorius making. That he had sent the command, with instructions, when they had assembled sufficient number, send a acquaint him with it.

Upon the receipt of such intelligence, he sallied out, and having made way through without much trouble, joined new-raised troops, and strength. cut off the Roman convoys by sea and at land, by laying ambushes hemming them in, and, by the rapidity of motions, meeting them in every quarter; sea, by guarding the light piratical vessels. In consequence of this, the Romans obliged separate. Metellus retired into Gaul, Pompey and took up his winter quarters in the territories of the Vacceians, where he was greatly distressed for money; insomuch that informed the senate, he soon leave country, if they did not supply; for had already sacrificed fortune in the defence of Italy. Indeed, the common discourse was, that Sertorius would be in Italy before Pompey. So far had his capacity prevailed the distinguished ablest generals in Rome.

The opinion which Metellus had of him, the dread of his abilities, evident from proclamation then published; in Metellus offered a reward of talents of silver, and 20,000 acres land any Roman who should take him; and if that Roman an exile, he promised he should be restored to his country. Thus he plainly discovered his despair of conquering enemy, by the price which he set upon him. When he happened once to defeat him in a pitched battle, he was elated with the advantage, thought the so fortunate, that he himself to be saluted as *Imperator*; and the cities received him with sacrifices and every testimony of gratitude to the gods at their altars. Nay, it is said, received crowns of victory, that he made magnificent entertainments the occasion, and wore a triumphal robe. Victories, in effigy, descended in machines, with trophies of gold and garlands their hands; and choirs boys and virgins songs in praise. These circumstances extremely ridiculous, if expressed so much joy and such superabundant vanity, while he called Sertorius a fugitive from Sylla, and the poor remains of Carbo's faction.

On the other hand, the magnanimity of Sertorius appeared in every step he took. The patricians, who had been obliged to fly Rome, and refuge him, he called them Out appointed quaestors and lieutenants, in everything proceeded according the laws of his country. was of still greater moment, though he made war with only the arms, the money, and the men of Spain, he did not suffer the Spaniards to have least share any department of government, even titles. the Roman generals and governors; that the liberty of Rome was his great object, that did not want to see up the Spaniards against Romans. In fact, was a true lover of his country, and his passion to be restored to it of the first his heart. Yet, in greatest misfortunes, he never departed dignity. On the other hand, was victorious, he would make an offer to Metellus or Pompey,

lay down his arms, on condition he might be permitted to remain in the capacity of a private. *He rather chose to live in Rome, than in exile, and to command of all the other nations in the world.*

This love of his country is said to have been in some measure his attachment to his mother. His infancy, and his education wholly from her; consequently his affections centered in her. His Spanish friends wanted him supreme governor; but having information of the death of his mother, he himself took an alarming grief. For several whole days he neither spoke word, nor would be seen by any of his friends. At last his generals, and others who were upon a footing with him in power, beset his tent, and insisted that he should rise from the ground and make his appearance, to speak to the soldiers, and take the direction of their affairs, which were then very prosperous. He could desist. Hence many imagined, that he was naturally of a pacific turn, and a lover of tranquillity, but he brought another inclination, by himself or other, to take upon him the command, and that when he was hard pressed by his enemies, and had no other shelter but that of war to fly to, he had recourse to it merely in the way of self-defence.

We cannot have greater proofs of his magnanimity than that he gave in his treaty with Mithridates. That prince, recovered from the fall given him by Sylla, entered the lists again, and made pretensions to Asia. By this time the fame of Sertorius had extended itself into all parts of the world. The merchants who traded to the west, carried back word of his achievements, like commodities from a distant country, and filled Pontus with his renown. Hereupon Mithridates determined to send an embassy to him; induced to it by the flattering speeches of his flatterers, who compared Sertorius to Hannibal, and Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and insisted that the Romans would never bear against two such powers and two persons of such genius and abilities, when attacked by them from different quarters, the one being an excellent of generals, and the other the greatest of kings.

In pursuance of this scheme, Mithridates sent ambassadors to Spain, with letters to Sertorius, and proposals to him made in reference, the purport of which was, that the king would supply him with money and ships for the war, on condition that he confirmed his claim to Asia, which he had lately taken from the Romans in the treaty with Sylla.

Sertorius assembled his council which he called. They were divided in their opinions whether he should accept the conditions, and think himself happy in them. They only wanted empty titles and title to things which it was their duty to give the king in return would supply them with what they wanted. Sertorius would by no means agree. He said, he had no objection to that prince's having Bithynia

Cappadocia, countries accustomed to kingly government, and ■■■ belonging to ■■■ Romans by any just title : but ■■■ ■■■ province ■■■ which the Romans ■■■ an undeniable claim ; ■■■ province which they ■■■ been deprived of by Mithridates, which ■■■ afterwards lost ■■■ Fimbria, and ■■■ had quitted upon the peace with Sylla, he could ■■■ ■■■ that he should ■■■ put in possession of it again. "Rome," said he, "ought to have her power extended by my victories, and it ■■■ ■■■ right to rise to power at her expense. A ■■■ ■■■ has ■■■ dignity of sentiment should conquer with honour, and not ■■■ any base means even to save his life."

Mithridates ■■■ perfectly astonished ■■■ this answer, and thus communicated his surprise to his friends : "What orders would Sertorius give us, when seated in the senate-house ■■■ Rome, if now, driven ■■■ ■■■ is ■■■ the ■■■ of the Atlantic Ocean, he proscribes bounds ■■■ our empire, and threatens ■■■ with war if ■■■ make any attempt upon Asia?" The treaty, however, ■■■ on, and ■■■ ■■■ to. Mithridates ■■■ to have Cappadocia ■■■ Bithynia, and Sertorius ■■■ supply him with a general and ■■■ troops ; the king on the other hand was to furnish Sertorius with 3,000 talents, and forty ships of war.

The general whom Sertorius ■■■ into Asia ■■■ ■■■ a senator who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius. When Mithridates, by his assistance, ■■■ taken ■■■ cities in Asia, he permitted that officer ■■■ enter them with his rods and axes, and voluntarily took the second place as one of his train. Marius declared some of those cities free, and excused others from imposts and taxes, telling them they were indebted for these favours to Sertorius. So that Asia, which laboured again under the exaction of the Roman tax-gatherers, and the oppressions and insults of the garrisons, had ■■■ ■■■ a prospect of some happier ■■■ of govern■

■■■ ■■■ Spain the senators about Sertorius, who looked upon themselves as ■■■ a footing with him, ■■■ ■■■ themselves ■■■ n match for the enemy, than they bade adieu ■■■ fear, and gave into a foolish jealousy ■■■d ■■■vy of their general. At the head ■■■ these ■■■ Perpenna, who, elated with the vanity of birth, aspired ■■■ the command, and scrupled ■■■ to address his partisans in private with such speeches as these : "What evil demon possesses ■■■ and leads us from bad to worse? We, who would ■■■ stay ■■■ home and submit to ■■■ orders of Sylla, who is master both of sea and land, what ■■■ we ■■■ come to? ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ here for liberty? Yet here ■■■ are voluntary slaves ; guards ■■■ ■■■ exiled Sertorius. We ■■■ ourselves ■■■ ■■■ amused with the title ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ a ■■■ despised and ridiculed by ■■■ ■■■ world. O noble senators, who ■■■ ■■■ ■■■ mortifying tasks and labours, as much as ■■■ ■■■ Spaniards and Lusitanians !"

Numbers ■■■ attacked with these and such ■■■ discourses : ■■■ though they ■■■ ■■■ openly revolt, because they ■■■ ■■■ power of Sertorius, yet they took private methods ■■■ ruin ■■■ affairs, by treating ■■■ barbarians ill, inflicting heavy punishments, ■■■

collecting exorbitant subsidies, as if by order. Hence the began their allegiance, and raise disturbances; the persons to compose disturbances by mild and gentle methods, made enemies they reconciled, the rising spirit of disobedience; inasmuch Sertorius, departing from former clemency and moderation, injustice outrage the children of the Spaniards, putting death, and selling others for slaves.

conspiracy daily gathered strength, and Perpenna drew in Manlius,¹ who considerable command army. He and his partisans prepared letters Sertorius, which imported that a victory was gained by officers, and great numbers of the enemy slain. Sertorius offered sacrifice good tidings; and Perpenna gave him, and his own were by, and who privy the design, an invitation supper, which, with much entreaty, prevailed.

The entertainments which Sertorius present, had been always attended with great order and decorum; for he could not bear either to see or hear the least indecency, and he had accustomed the guests divert themselves in an innocent and irreproachable manner. But in the midst of the entertainment conspirators began seek occasion to quarrel, giving into the dissolute discourse, pretending drunkenness the cause of their ribaldry. All this was done to provoke him. However, either vexed at their obscenities and design, or guessing their designs by the of their drawing them out, he changed his posture, and threw himself upon his couch, though he neither heard nor regarded them. Then Perpenna took a cup of wine, and as he drinking, purposely let it fall out of his hands. The noise it made being the signal for them fall on, Antony, who sat Sertorius, gave him a stroke with his sword. Sertorius turned, and get up; but Antony throwing himself upon breast, his hands; so that not being able in the defend himself, the conspirators despatched him with many wounds.

Upon the first of his death, the Spaniards abandoned Perpenna, and by their deputies surrendered themselves Pompey and Metellus. Perpenna attempted something with those that remained; but though he the of that Sertorius prepared, he made ill figure, it was evident he knew no more how command than how to obey. gave battle, and soon routed and taken prisoner. Nor in last distress behave as became a general. papers of Sertorius possession, and he Pompey of original letters from men of consular dignity, and greatest interest Rome, by they invited Sertorius

¹ Dacier thinks we should read *Manlius*, which he means *Manlius Antonius*, gave Sertorius the first blow.

Italy, in consequence of the desire of numbers, ~~the~~ ~~change~~ ~~the~~ state of affairs, ~~and~~ a new ~~change~~

Pompey, however, behaved not like a young man, ~~but~~ with all the marks of a solid and improved und~~erstanding~~ing, and by his prudence delivered ~~the~~ from a train of ~~the~~ fears and ~~the~~ commotions. He collected all those letters, and ~~the~~ other papers ~~of~~ Sertorius, ~~and~~ burned them, ~~without~~ either reading them himself, or suffering ~~any~~ other person to do it. As for Perpenna, he put him ~~in~~ immediately, lest he should mention ~~the~~ names ~~of~~ ~~the~~ wrote ~~the~~ letters, ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~troubles~~ ~~arise~~. Perpenna's accomplices met the same ~~end~~, ~~being~~ being brought ~~to~~ Pompey, ~~and~~ by him ordered ~~to~~ the block, and others, ~~and~~ into Africa, shot by the ~~the~~. None escaped but Aufidius, the rival of Manlius. Whether ~~it~~ that ~~he~~ found, ~~as~~ they thought him ~~not~~ worth the seeking, he ~~lived~~ to old age in a village of ~~the~~ barbarians, wretchedly poor, and universally despised.

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